Private Life in San Clemente *John Osborne*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts—July 22, 1972, 50 cents

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

McGovern Makes It

Sweating Out the Decision
Paul R. Wieck

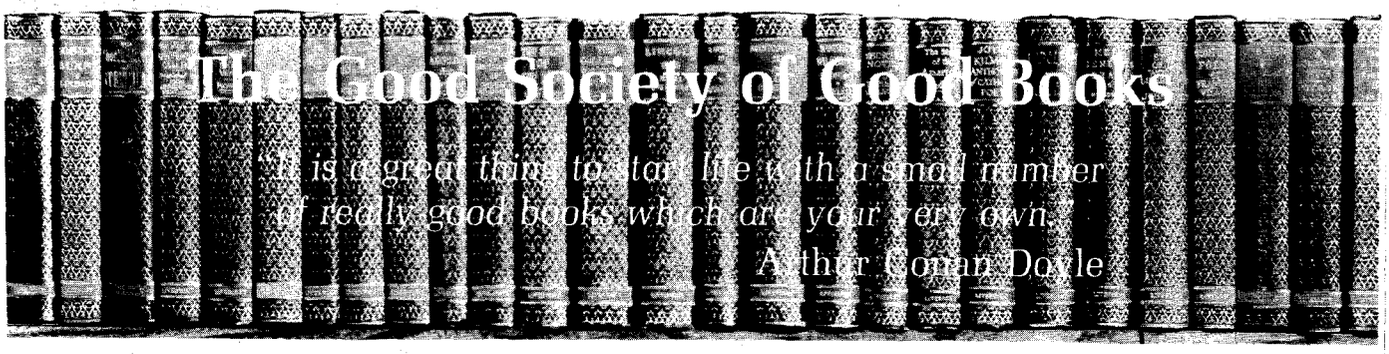
The Next Three Months
The Editors

Don't Underestimate Him
TRB

COMMENT: James Tobin/Melville Ulmer on McGovernomics, Beerbohm as Parodist, The 1973 House, Meat Prices, Why ABM?

NEWSPAPER
44017
BEREA OHIO
RITTER LIB
BALDWIN WALLACE CLG
NR BLDI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


The Good Society of Good Books
"It is a great thing to start life with a small number
of really good books which are your very own."
Arthur Conan Doyle

YOU ARE INVITED TO BEGIN BUILDING YOUR OWN PERSONAL LIBRARY OF CLASSICS BY BECOMING A MEMBER OF THE

BLACK & GOLD LIBRARY SOCIETY

You can begin to build a fine library in your own home, so that you and your family can enjoy some of the world's greatest literature by reaching out a hand!

You don't have to reach too deeply into your pocket, either! *Each beautifully bound volume costs but $3.95, plus a small charge* for postage and handling. Books that normally cost up to $6.95 each, at that!

Since 1925 the renowned Black and Gold Library has brought to the English-speaking public outstanding and unusual classics which belong in the home of every literate person. History, biography, religion, poetry, psychology, and literature . . . all are represented. Each octavo volume is the original publisher's edition, full library size, with pages 5¾" x 8¾" . . . has a heavy, close-grained, polished-cloth binding richly stamped in gold with red, blue or green and printed on paper chosen for its durability, color, and texture!

To get you started, the Liveright Publishing Company is offering an unprecedented value on this extraordinary collection. THREE OF THESE VOLUMES—namely, THE ELEVEN COMEDIES OF ARISTOPHANES, a shrewdly penetrating, rollicking satire by the greatest of the ancient satirists, CHARTERHOUSE OF PARMA by Stendahl, cited by the eminent critic Andre Gide as first among all the novels of France . . . and the SHORTER NOVELS OF HERMAN MELVILLE, including "Billy Budd," "Benito Cereno," and "Barnaby the Scrivener." They are all yours for ONE DOLLAR each, plus the small shipping charge. By joining the Society *now*, you not only have the advantage of this low price, but you will *be guaranteed a preferred price* on all subsequent purchases, inflation or no inflation!

The complete list of Black and Gold Library titles will be sent to you with your first three special introductory volumes. There are over 50 volumes in all, with new titles continually added. Among the outstanding exciting books are: DROLL STORIES by Honore de Balzac, ART OF LOVE by Ovid, the COMPLETE POEMS OF HART CRANE, the CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE, EXOTIC JAPANESE STORIES by Ryunosuke Akutagawa, GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHOANALYSIS by Sigmund Freud, HELOISE AND ABELARD by George Moore, HENRY VIII by Francis Hackett, THE RED AND THE BLACK by Stendahl, THE PHYSIOLOGY OF TASTE by Brillat-Savarin, the SATYRICON OF PETRONIUS ARBITER, the TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO *edited by Manuel Komroff. They are books you and your family* will want to read and re-read, use as reference, quote from!

Consider this exceptional 4-point program!

1. **NO MINIMUM NUMBER OF BOOKS TO BUY!** It is our *expectation that most members of the Society will want to take* advantage of membership to build a splendid library. But if for any reason you want to resign your membership, you can immediately, with no obligation to the Society.

2. **NO RED TAPE!** You're dealing with people, not computers. *There are no forms to fill out, nothing you need do. You will* receive the addition to your home library each month, at $3.95 per volume plus shipping, as long as you remain a member of the Society.

3. **PAY NOTHING IN ADVANCE!** Even the first three volumes, *regular $20.85 value, are yours on credit. You may return these* volumes within 30 days and owe us nothing. Otherwise, you will pay us $1 each for the first 3 volumes of your library (plus postage and handling). Thereafter, you will receive your addition each month at $3.95 (plus postage and handling). You may return any volume within 30 days for full credit.

4. **CHARTER MEMBERSHIP CARD!** With your order, you will receive your numbered Black and Gold Library Society Card. This card is your protection and guarantee of the lowest prices on these classic volumes.

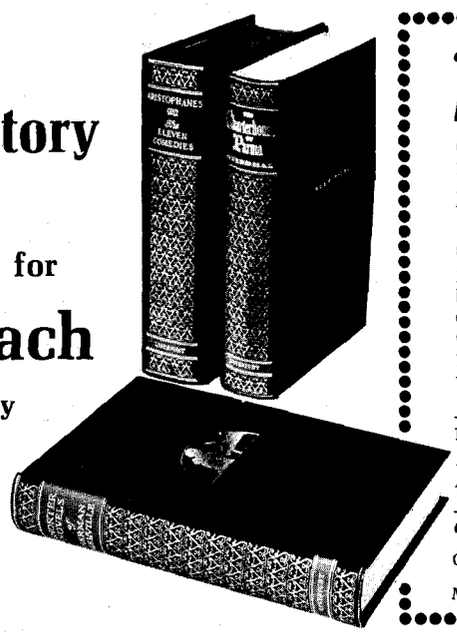
SPECIAL Introductory OFFER!

First 3 Books for

$1.00 each

(a value regularly up to $20.85)

. . . Then just $3.95 for each classic thereafter!



BLACK & GOLD LIBRARY SOCIETY

Liveright Publishing Company
386 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y. 10016

Gentlemen:

Please accept my application for charter membership in the Black and Gold Library Society and send me the first 3 volumes (Aristophanes' *Eleven Comedies*, Stendahl's *Charterhouse of Parma*, and Melville's *Shorter Novels*). Bill me later at $1 per book plus shipping and handling.

I understand that a Black and Gold Library Society selection will be sent to me each month for just $3.95 plus shipping and handling. If I return any volume within 30 days, there will be no charge. I may resign at any time.

Please rush my Black and Gold Library Society membership card, which guarantees me the lowest possible price per volume.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Credit reference: Telephone No. _____

Members must be 21 years of age and residents of the U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The guy next door probably makes no more money than you. How come he's better off?

If you've ever asked yourself that question, you should know about *Changing Times* Magazine. It could easily help you save hundreds of dollars every month.

If your next door neighbor seems to have more money than you, maybe he's learned the knack of saving more.

Maybe he saves more on driving expenses. Maybe he saves more on vacation costs. Maybe he gets more interest on his savings. Maybe he reads *Changing Times*, which tells you how to save money on all these things and a lot more besides. For example, it tells you:

A way to get 8% or more on your savings with less risk than playing the market or keeping your money in a savings bank. (Assuming you have $5,000 in savings and have been getting only 5% interest from your bank, this advice could put $150 more a year in your pocket.)

A way you can save over $600 a year on your driving costs.

A way to save $25 a day just for family lodging and come out saving $250 over a two-week vacation period.

In fact, you'd have gotten dozens—perhaps hundreds—of money-saving, money-*earning* tips from your 12 monthly issues of *Changing Times*—and these three *alone* could have put $1,000 of extra purchasing power into your family budget!

Over 1½ million families read *Changing Times* every month and rely on it year after year.

Like hiring a financial expert

Changing Times is written, edited and published by the same experts who produce the famed *Kiplinger Washington Letter*—the most widely-read and highly respected business newsletter in the country. Like the Washington Letter, *Changing Times* is available by *subscription only*. Unlike most magazines, its purpose is to help you spend more wisely, save and invest more profitably, and get a better life out of your hard-earned living.

Which of these tips would have helped you?

If you were transferred, if you bought a home, or if you sold or bought a car, *Changing Times* could have told you:

- How to save about $16,000 on a $25,000 home loan.
- How to compare the costs and benefits of FHA, VA and conventional mortgages to get the best deal for your needs.
- How to save on 'closing costs' involved in buying a house, and how to keep them to the minimum.
- What you should know about do-it-yourself moving that could save you 50%.
- A way to put extra dollars in your pocket by selling your old car instead of trading it in.
- How to tell whether or not your new car will cost you a fat surcharge on your auto insurance.
- A surprising way your teenager can cut your auto insurance costs without taking a safe driving course.

If you were looking for the best ways to put your money to work, *Changing Times* had the enlightening facts on:

- An investment that increased a whopping 573% while the Dow Jones Industrials increased only 36%.
- Mutual funds—what's been happening to them since their much overpublicized heyday a few years back.
- Closed-end investment companies—an interesting and little-known method of owning growth or profit shares.
- Credit Unions—big and small, sound and unsound.
- Start-your-own-business offers—how to sort out the frauds, the barely legal operators and the reasonable risks.

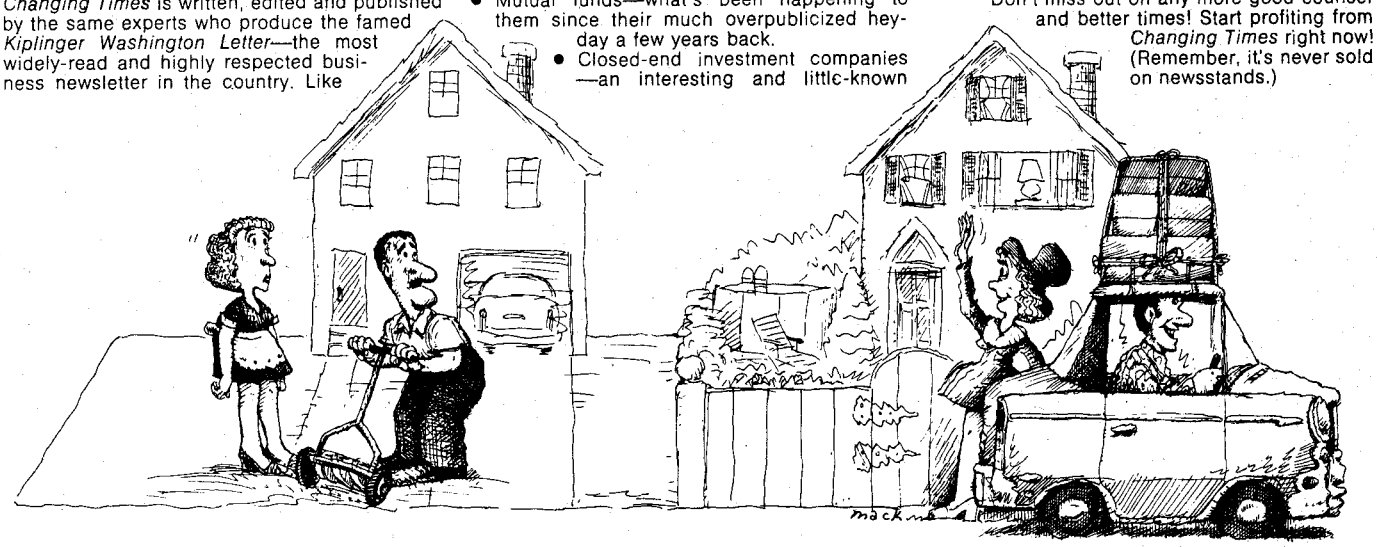
No matter what you were doing, chances are you'd have profited from *Changing Times'* advice on:

- How to find the life insurance policies that offer you the best possible protection for the least possible money.
- A type of disability insurance that returns part or all of your premium if you have no claims.
- What you need to know about credit cards and charge accounts to keep the interest you pay as low as possible.
- Year-end tax tips that can cut your bill in April.
- What Medicare does and doesn't cover and what additional protection you should have to fill the gaps.

See for yourself—at no risk!

For just $7 you can receive *Changing Times* for the *next 12* months, and if you mail the coupon *now* you'll risk absolutely nothing. We'll enter your subscription, send you the latest issue of *Changing Times*, and bill you. If you aren't completely satisfied, just return the bill and we'll cancel your subscription. You'll owe nothing, and you may keep the magazine. We'll even include a special BONUS BOOK that's yours to keep whether you subscribe or not.

Don't miss out on any more good counsel and better times! Start profiting from *Changing Times* right now! (Remember, it's never sold on newsstands.)



FREE money-saving, 96-page book

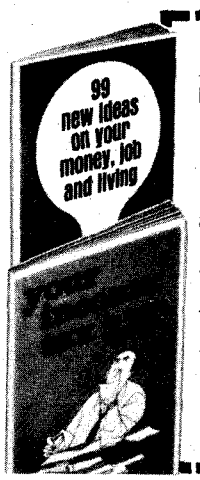
As your bonus for subscribing now, you'll also receive FREE the latest edition of the Kiplinger Family Success Book, "99 New Ideas on Your Money, Job and Living," a treasury of money-saving ideas by the editors of Changing Times. This colorful, fact-filled 96-page book contains the best articles from recent issues.

It tells you how to get MORE for every dollar you spend on the necessities of life, investments, and the things that make life worth living. It includes scores of ways to help you buy smarter, live richer, achieve financial success. Over 8 million copies of previous editions have been distributed. And this edition is the best yet.

EXTRA BONUS FOR CASH
"YOUR INCOME TAX: Do It Right and Save"

Enclose check or money order with coupon and get this invaluable 24-page booklet FREE. It shows you dozens of little-known ways to slash your tax bill to the bone. Answers scores of "most asked" questions to help you save money on tax returns. This booklet alone could save you many times the cost of your subscription.

So, how can you lose? Make up your mind right now to start saving more money with Changing Times. And put the money you save into some worthy cause—like your bank account! Mail the coupon today.



CHANGING TIMES 6338 Lindmar Dr. Goleta, CA 93017 K 23

☐ Send me a FREE copy of the 96-page book, "99 New Ideas on Your Money, Job and Living" and enter my subscription to *Changing Times* Magazine for one year for only $7.

MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

If not completely satisfied I won't owe a cent and may keep the first issue and the free book "99 New Ideas."

☐ Payment enclosed. Send me extra FREE bonus as described.
☐ Bill me.

Name

Address

City State Zip

Check here and save! ☐ 2 years for $12 (Save $2)

1 274 6 | 1 8 7 0 5

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $15, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St. N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Second-class postage at Washington, D. C. and additional mailing offices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Miami Beach ®

Don't Underestimate Him

Can George McGovern beat Richard Nixon? I don't know but I have watched a new form of political party trying to get itself born here and for the time being I will believe anything.

There they sat, at 4:30 a.m., a couple of acres of delegates and alternates, in a great, gaudy colorful splotch of summer dresses and shirtsleeves in an otherwise empty hall. Yes, the public galleries were all empty hours ago; the press gallery was almost empty with the a.m. men gone home and the unfortunate next day's afternoon paper men caught in a trap.

But the awe-inspiring thing was that these delegates were alive and bouncy and there, due perhaps as much to their youth and inexperience as to their dedication and that, instead of chaos which many had predicted, their keenness and manner were exemplary.

In that particular roll call they were, in effect, throwing Mayor Daley out on his ear. I confess to a certain satisfaction in this. Four years ago at the Chicago amphitheater, I went back and redeemed a stick and printed sign from the trashman which proclaimed, "We love Mayor Daley." He had hundreds of them printed. His supporters waved them. He made an angry gesture on TV at Abe Ribicoff over the Vietnam peace resolution. He wouldn't let the hippies sleep in the parks and helped to precipitate the riots.

Well, that is old stuff. But from that 1968 convention came the reform drive, which nobody noticed at the time and, ultimately, the unusual position of Mr. Daley today. He just couldn't believe the new reform rules applied to him. He said that the reformers needed him to win the election, which likely they do. But when you see a political party do things like this, crazy as they may be, you rub your eyes and feel a certain sense of respect. A new type of delegate has produced a new type of convention in what could be a new type of party, and they have picked a new type of candidate. Pinch yourself.

A most extraordinary convention. At the start, anyway, no confetti, no balloons, no bands, no hoopla, no "spontanteous demonstrations." Although the delegates were by no means all young, there was a lot of youth. And some were going through a rather endearing process of trying to be responsibile. Many idealistic reformers that I talked to were discovering for the first time that compromise is necessary to make the two-party system work. To some the thought just hadn't occurred before. When the vote came booting out Mayor Daley, I asked a depressed Chicago reporter three steps below me in the press gallery what it meant. "It means they have just handed the election to Nixon," he said morosely. On the shuttle bus going back to the Fontainebleau Hotel 5 a.m., a handsome young black was telling his companion happily that "this is the end of Mayor Daley." He said it with utter conviction.

George McGovern is trying to widen his base and that is the idea of the convention. Mistakes have been made. There is a certain brutality in the way dedicated old-timers who have given money and hope and years to the party have been excluded by the new delegate-selection process. Personally I have always had a deep suspicion of proportional representation. Generally in politics, it hasn't worked. If the safety of the nation were at stake, it would give this old reactionary no particular comfort to know, for example, that half the people at the war-college strategy meeting were women. To his pragmatic credit, I think McGovern tried to get Daley into the swim of things again.

The old Roosevelt coalition is breaking up. Where are the big city bosses? Philadelphia's Mayor Frank Rizzo didn't come to the convention because "Nixon is the greatest President this country ever had." Then there is 77-year old cigar-chomping AFL-CIO boss George Meany, who loathes McGovern and resents that for the first time in 20 years he has no lien on the Democratic candidate. In all those 20 years no candidate has been more ardent to help the worker than McGovern. Indeed, there has probably been no more direct challenge to the Establishment since Bryan.

Many of McGovern's opponents here, who aren't reactionaries, are genuinely convinced that he's a disaster and some say they are going to sit this one out and then pick up the pieces. McGovern is a former preacher and son of a preacher and, as Robert Sam Anson says of him in the best biography I've read (*McGovern:* $7.95, Holt, Rinehart & Winston) there is a certain self-righteousness in his utterance. He could have complained about the so-called "California-steal" of delegates without threatening to bolt his party. His rejection of Muskie's effort at the convention to harmonize difference by bringing rivals together had a certain moralistic tone. His proposal to "beg" North Vietnamese to release US prisoners set the teeth on edge of anybody who realized the delicious satisfaction the phrase gave to Mr. Nixon, waiting there to pounce.

But when all is said and done McGovern's record is inspiring. Trust among hard-headed conservative Dakota farmers is pretty impressive. The word is trust. They trust him. He looks honest. He is honest. My, my, think what that means for an underdog running against Mr. Nixon today. One of the reasons we like the Anson biography is that we find a quotation by TRB in it from May, 1970, in which we described his effort to get more food for the hungry. We noted that despite his Distinguished Flying Cross he looked like a YMCA secretary. "It is awfully hard to stop men like McGovern," we wrote. "They have iron in them. When they think about hungry children it bothers them." Yes, they go out and do something about it. We ended the piece in 1970, "Don't underestimate him."

That probably is the right advice today. McGovern had made the mistake (we think) of projecting his own passionate desire to aid the underdog into the campaign as an economic proposal instead of making the issue of the fight Mr. Nixon himself. The whole White House crew is getting ready to open up on McGovern and put him, not them, on the defensive. It can't be helped. There are a lot of underdogs in the country today, people with a feeling that they are somehow being gypped. McGovern is a "radical"?—so what? Maybe we need something a bit radical for a change.

Watching this new, extraordinary, often exasperating convention here we recall the man who came back perplexed from the Los Angeles tangle of Martian freeways and exclaimed, "I have seen the future, and it doesn't work." Can McGovern take the convention results and make them work? Don't underestimate him.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 167, No. 4, Issue 3004, July 22, 1972. Published weekly (except the issues of January 1, July 29, August 12, and August 26, 1972) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50¢; Yearly subscriptions $15; Foreign $18; Armed Forces personnel or students, $10. Send all remittances and correspondence about Subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright 1972 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Reader's Guide.*

Contents

) Comment
The Next Three Months, The New House, What You Don't Know, Executive Agreements, Telethon, The Nader Look

) Reconstruction in South Carolina—*Ridgway M. Hall, Jr.*

1 ABM . . . Again?—*Peter J. Ognibene*

3 Scapegoats and Sacred Cows—*Muriel Allen*

4 The Nixon Watch: A Private Affair—*John Osborne*

6 The Battle of the Beach Was a Bust—*Robert Cassidy*

7 Sweating It Out: Miami Beach Diary—*Paul R. Wieck*

2 Theater—*Stanley Kauffmann*

3 Television—*Sedulus*

4 Books—Reviews by *Gil Muller, David Osborne, Reed Whittemore*

4 Poem—*Ralph Robin*

) McGovern's Economics: An Exchange of Views—*James Tobin* and *Melville J. Ulmer*

3 Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief—Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor—David Sanford
Literary Editor—Reed Whittemore
Associate Editor—John Osborne
Staff Writer—Eliot Marshall
Assistant to the Editors—Gwen Somers
Assistant to the Literary Editor—Dianne Ferriss
Contributing Editors:
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Donald Canty, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Gerald W. Johnson, Melville J. Ulmer, Allen S. Whiting, Paul R. Wieck
Films and Theater—Stanley Kauffmann
West Coast Editor—Peter Barnes
Production Manager—Ira Klafter
Assistant Production Manager—Mary Henninger
Publisher—Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager—Mary Kurtz
Business Manager—Pearl Wilmer Ramsey
Assistant Business Manager—Constance Cole Twining
New Republic Feature Syndicate—Elizabeth A. Scanlan
Advertising and Promotion—Ilene Briggin Kahane
Receptionist—Ruby McGowan

The Next Three Months

The hard-boiled analysts who knew George McGovern couldn't be nominated have by now wiped the egg off their faces and they can turn to explaining why the Democratic convention was not the shambles they said, and in many cases hoped it would be. Or perhaps they shouldn't bother. For after all, the people saw it all on television, and what they saw was a flattering mirror image of themselves. They will see a contrasting, duller image when the Republicans assemble in the same city, the same hall on August 21. We needed this assemblage of Democrats to remind us what Americans can still do when they take civic obligation seriously. We needed it because we have become too depressed, too ready to accept clichés about powerlessness, or the inevitability of nobody trusting anybody who is older or younger or blacker or whiter. We needed it because we had to hear spokesmen of a national party say we are *not* resigned to carrying on this hideous, needless war in Indochina, not resigned to a situation in which a laborer is not worth his hire, not resigned to neglect of the aged or the sick, not resigned to pollution or the suffocation of the cities.

This was a working convention, most of whose delegates didn't imagine two years ago that they would be helping run the party. Outsiders were suddenly inside and performing with such discipline, assurance and decorum it was hard to believe they hadn't done it often. They upheld their own law and order, respecting their rules on delegate representation, sensibly rejecting challenges based on the erroneous assumption that the rules did or should require some fixed, mathematical apportionment of delegates by quota. The voices and faces that came across in millions of homes were more convincing, more interesting, than the details of any debate over credentials or platform or nominee. They gave us a lift of spirit we associate with the first days in office of Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy.

So we've rediscovered how unpredictable the democratic process can be and we are readier than ever to hedge political bets. Phase 2 of McGovern's campaign will be as demanding as Phase 1, but somewhat different. The involvement of so many youth, women, blacks and chicanos; the sincerity of the candidate; the coming together of so many of the disenfranchised and dissatisfied are no guarantee that the Democrats can prevail over so astute and well-financed an opponent as Richard Nixon. McGovern's nomination is exceptional in that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it was secured, state by state, without the help of, indeed against the opposition of, two institutions without which no Democratic candidate in recent memory got to the top—the established party machinery and Labor. The McGovern candidacy generated its own troops, its own financing. In most states, McGovern as the nominee will now have the backing of the regulars. But the heart of George Meany and the chieftains of the AFL-CIO executive committee will never belong to McGovern, and nobody knows how much that will cost him in the fall. Even with Labor's all-out support, Hubert Humphrey failed to win five large states where the unions have muscle—Ohio, California, Illinois, New Jersey and Oregon. Without that support he would have done far worse. So although there is a momentary pleasure in savoring the humbling of the proud and the powerful in Miami Beach (whether a big-city mayor or a labor official), the Democrats will need them, too.

It's a simple thought, known to handicappers, that presidential races are won or lost in November, not July. It is therefore encouraging that these McGovern amateurs-turned-professional understand the difference between nominating a candidate and electing him President. The former could be done, given reform rules which opened the party to wider popular participation, by a comparatively small number (relative to registered Democrats) of dedicated volunteers. The latter requires a larger mobilization of energies and loyalties, the uniting of disparate interests and regions into a broad coalition. A national party is a unifying instrument, or it is nothing. The alternative to it is factions. America is not Sweden or the United Kingdom, and it is the heterogeneous composition of our two parties that makes it possible for a continental nation to combine strong central government with wide home rule.

This requirement that each party encompass and represent diversity—sectional, racial, religious, economic, cultural—does not mean, surely will not mean this year, that the two parties will appear alike. Senator McGovern will not be Tweedledee to Mr. Nixon's Tweedledum. The reason is that each party has at its center a different concentration of interests. Democrats will have no trouble differentiating themselves from Republicans, either on personality or on issues; for example ending our collusion with the Thieu government, resisting pressures at home from the military-industrial complex, reforming the tax system, assuring an adequate minimum income to all citizens, restoring domestic peace without sacrificing civil liberties, and establishing a national health-insurance program.

Because he is policy-minded, and because from the start he has had to draw sharp distinctions between his policies and those of his competitors for the nomination, and simply because it is in his nature to say what he thinks at the moment, George McGovern might be tempted to say too much in the next three months. The time to propound exact remedies, however, is when you're in the White House, not knocking on the door. It is the sense of a candidate's competence and character, the direction in which he wishes to move, the concerns he feels most deeply that interest the electorate in a campaign. For the most part, voters do not follow, do not wish to follow, a detailed explanation of exactly how the tax system is to be restructured. They do want to know whether the tax system *will* be restructured in the direction of greater equity, and whether taxes will be used to finance more generously urgent public improvements. But a campaign is the preview, not the performance. Democrats under Woodrow Wilson's first-term leadership succeeded less because they redeemed the promises of their candidate, than because, once he was elected, they put into law ideas they had not thought they had. Had Franklin Roosevelt done what he said he would do (balancing the budget, for instance) there would have been no New Deal.

There is another reason for a presidential candidate not to be too precise on what he will do at a later date about complex problems. It is never salutary to fire up Utopian expectations that are beyond any administration's power to fulfill. However compassionate, courageous or wise it may be, government cannot make night day. If there is a feeling of betrayal in many hearts, it is at least in part because so many politicians have wooed the electorate by overindulging their hopes. There is personal rancor and disaffection in America that can be moderated, but no word from the White House, no legislation, no bureaucratic efficiency can banish it. When politicians encourage the disaffected to demand more than government can deliver, they run the risk of spreading disillusion. And in turn, if the disaffected demand deliverance now through politics, *they* run the risk of getting more government than they want, more than a free society can take and still stay free.

McGovern has proven that he is not politically naive or a one-issue candidate or an extremist. Now he and Tom Eagleton have the task of leading not a crusade of true believers but a coalition that comes together for the single purpose of replacing the Republicans in the White House. By September or so, the Meanys and Daleys—and perhaps even George Wallace—may choose to take part in that enterprise.

COMING: William Lee Miller on youth, ideals and the campaign of 1972

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New House

In the quiet hours, the few between now and November, partisans of George McGovern will remember that the candidate's good intentions will pave the road to nowhere if the next Congress prefers to stand still. It is only when a reform-bent President and a like-minded congressional consensus work together—as in 1965—that the tempo quickens.

Consider the 1973 possibilities in the House of Representatives. What changes might be anticipated?

There are bound to be quite a few new faces in January. To start with, five representatives resigned during this Congress, four died. With several filing dates and 23 state primaries remaining, 28 representatives have announced that they will not seek reelection. Ten more are quitting to run for the Senate. Three representatives have already been defeated in primaries by nonincumbents (five have lost to other incumbents when thrown together by redistricting), and there are 16 new districts which no incumbent has claimed. Allowing for overlaps, this adds up to a minimum of 60 newcomers (counting those who have already been elected or appointed to the seat of a representative who retired or died during this session). In addition, some incumbents will be defeated in the 23 remaining primaries and in November, bringing the total to between 70 and 100. This will be up from 56 in 1970 and 39 in 1968, and will compare with 68 in 1962, after massive redistricting which directly resulted in 22 incumbent casualties, 91 in 1964, with the Johnson landslide, and 73 in 1966, when the Republicans won back many of the districts lost in the '64 debacle.

Twenty of the 28 House retirees, however, are giving up posts as either chairman or ranking minority leader on at least one committee or subcommittee, a dropout rate unseen in years. John Byrnes (R, Wis.) and Jackson Betts (R, Ohio) vacate the top two minority spots on Ways and Means; William Colmer (D, Miss.) and H. Allen Smith (R, Cal.) will resign the leadership positions on Rules; Appropriations will be vacated by seven members, including the top two Republicans, Frank Bow of Ohio and Charles Jonas of North Carolina. Add to this five out of the eight representatives who were involuntarily retired in primaries: Emanuel Celler (D, NY) (though he may run on the Liberal ticket in November), James Kee (D, W.Va.), James Byrne (D, Pa.), George Miller (D, Cal.), and Cornelius Gallagher (D, NJ).

Weight within a few committees will inevitably shift. On Rules, for example, chairman Colmer, a staunch conservative, will be replaced by the more moderate Ray Madden of Indiana, and recent votes in Rules have been close on such items as consumer protection. Wilbur Mills will still control Ways and Means, but Republican influence will be significantly weaker without Byrnes and Betts. Schneebeli (R, Pa.), who is next in line, has earned little respect from either side. Appropriations, with so many vacancies, is unpredictable.

Why the rush to retire? For one thing, this is the first year new pension rates go into effect. When congressional salaries were raised three years ago, retirement pay was lifted to a scale determined by 2.5 percent of the average of a congressman's top three years of salary, multiplied by the number of years served. On this scale any retiree who has been in Congress for 20 years will receive at least $21,250 a year; maximum $34,000.

Forty-one states, moreover, have been ordered to redraw their district lines since 1970, thus giving some House incumbents contests in all or partially new districts. The 18-year-old vote may also have persuaded a few older parties to leave while they're ahead, particularly those like Springer (R, Ill.) and Pelly (R, Wash.) who have 25,000 college students within their constituencies. Finally, incumbents now face opponents armed with more exact knowledge. According to Rep. Les Aspin (D, Wis.), "with teller votes now recorded for most amendments as well as final votes, incumbents cannot hide their stands any longer. Final votes on bills can be very ambiguous. Votes on amendments, on the other hand, are very specific and clear."

The departure rate alone won't create a marked ideological or party power shift in the House, though it opens the door to a groundswell either way. Many retirees will be replaced by younger men of the same party. Barring a Nixon landslide in November, it appears the Democrats will stay close to their 254-179 majority. Though redistricting slightly favors Republicans, Democrats are in deep trouble in no more than 12 districts, with the loss of more than half of those unlikely. In many districts the number of newly enfranchised voters is greater than the Republican victory margin in '70, and young people are expected to vote heavily Democratic in most areas.

A current cliché is that a McGovern candidacy will drag Democratic congressmen down to defeat. That may prove no truer than the earlier cliché that McGovern couldn't be nominated. There are only about 20 swing districts in the nation, and any effect the youth vote has on this number will not favor Nixon. Most other congressmen, in the opinion of Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., the majority whip in the House, are stronger than their party in their district. Moreover, voters are thought more likely to go in for ticket-splitting than in previous elections. The fears of a Goldwater debacle are of course strongest in the South, but the South has never been a reliable supplier of progressive votes in the House, irrespective of party. All in all, if Mr. Nixon is reelected we anticipate a Congress somewhat less amenable to his leadership than the 92nd Congress. On the other hand, should McGovern win, the House will be more, but not much more, Democratic, younger, and more aware of a national mood of reform.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What You Don't Know

When the Pentagon Papers became an open book last summer, followed by a flurry of inquiries about the stacks of still secret information, most everyone who bothered his head about the security classification system agreed it overclassified and then too often failed to declassify, hiding too much from the public, press, Congress, historians. Its costs were estimated at a minimum of $126 million a year; it was manipulated for political aggrandizement, making it too easy and tempting for those with access to publicize half-truths that made them look good, while burying the half-truths that didn't.

Then last March President Nixon issued Executive Order 11652, speeding up declassification, cutting back the number of agencies and individuals with the authority to classify, and reducing the number of your-eyes-only documents. The order also established an Interagency Classification Review Committee to administer the order and threatened disciplinary action for "repeated abuse of the process through excessive classification."

But Rep. William Moorhead (D, Pa.), chairman of the House Foreign Operations and Government Information Committee, and Senator Muskie, chairman of the Senate Intergovernmental Relations Committee, were not satisfied. Moorhead said the order is "a document written by classifiers for classifiers." He has held 30 days of hearings on the subject and introduced his own bill to further accelerate declassification, limit the power to conceal, and establish an independent commission to administer the classification system. Muskie's Truth in Government Act is similar.

The issue is this: who will have final authority over the classification system—those who have the information or an independent commission? Nixon's administrative committee consists of members of agencies which stamp the documents: State, Defense, Justice, the CIA, the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Security Council. Moorhead wants a review commission of three members appointed by the speaker of the House, three by the president pro tem of the Senate, and three by the President. It would settle disputes between members of Congress, the public or the press and the executive branch over what's to be made public and what's not and would hear requests from classifying agencies that want to keep information classified longer than usual. Muskie's proposed board would include representatives from the White House, the Congress and the press, but would give the President ultimate power to review any board decision. The real difference provided by an independent board would be apparent when a congressman or reporter asked that certain information be declassified: the decision would come not from the individual in the State or Defense bureaucracy who has the information, but from a disinterested commission conducting a hearing.

Speed is also at issue. Nixon's order allows "top secret" material to be declassified after 10 years, "secret" after eight and "confidential" after six. Moorhead's scale runs three, two and one, and Muskie's starts at two years for the "least sensitive" information and ranges up to 12 for the "most sensitive." All include a "savings clause." Under the Moorhead and Muskie proposals the executive branch, with the approval of the commission, could keep documents secret for longer periods of time. Under the Nixon order, agencies can hide documents longer than 10 years, but must review their decision if specific classified information is requested from them. The categories which can be kept secret forever include information "the continuing protection of which is essential to the national security." Moorhead has questioned the broad wording of this clause.

In dispute also is whether, when and how an individual can challenge classification of a document. Under the Nixon order one must ask for a document (it must be over 10 years old) "with sufficient particularity to enable the department to identify it," and then hope that "the record can be obtained with only a reasonable amount of effort." At that point one may or may not be allowed to see the document, depending on the department's interpretation of "national security." Members of Congress have complained that it's hard to know enough about what is classified to identify exactly what one wants to see, let alone know that such a document exists. Under the Moorhead and Muskie plans the independent commission could help individuals locate what they want and would ensure that a denial of access was justified. Anyone successfully appealing declassification of an item could have his court costs and attorney's fees paid out of public funds.

Declassification is not the final hurdle however. The executive branch may (and does) still hold information from Congress and the public under the cover of executive privilege. The Muskie bill states that declassified documents cannot be held under this privilege, and that even "top secret" documents could be ordered sent to Congress by the courts, though only for closed meetings. This "protective order" practice has been relatively common in Congress.

Senator Fulbright has a separate bill requiring anyone invoking executive privilege to bring a written letter from the President, thus making the President himself directly responsible for withholding information. No presidential letter, no funds for the agency in question.

None of these bills has yet been reported out of committee, but if the Democrats choose to stand firm on their platform pledge to "make information public, except when real national defense interests are involved," they can lay the groundwork for action next year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Executive Agreements

For the first time in memory, the Senate last month voted to cut off funds for an existing international commitment made by the executive branch—foreign aid to Portugal and two military bases, in Portugal and Bahrain, which the State Department negotiated six months ago. The rebuke took the form of two amendments to the $1.7 billion military-aid bill: one suspending payments until the agreements with Portugal and Bahrain were submitted to the Senate as treaties, the other making any future agreements about foreign bases subject to Senate approval.

The move, led by Sen. Clifford Case (D, NJ) and only narrowly passed (41-36), was the Senate's response to a controversy which started in December when the State Department concluded an executive agreement with Portugal, giving the US use of a base in the Azores and handing $436 million in aid to the Portuguese government. In March the Senate passed by 50 to 6 a resolution requesting that this agreement, as well as one establishing a US naval base in Bahrain, be submitted as a treaty for Senate review. The administration politely took note of the resolution but refused to submit the agreements.

Executive agreements have become increasingly popular with the executive branch in recent years: as of January the US was party to a total of 947 treaties and 4359 executive agreements in force. It was not just the Portuguese commitment that finally stimulated the Senate to assert itself. As Sen. Case said during debate: "Lend-lease and destroyers-for-bases have led to Korean mercenaries for Vietnam, secret military bases in Ethiopia and Morocco, and even a secret war in Laos." Sen. John Sparkman, who led the fight for the administration, consistently ducked the main issue, described by Case as "whether or not the Senate should have any role in the establishment of such agreements with other countries, particularly when it is the Senate which is subsequently asked to appropriate funds to implement the agreements." Sparkman agreed that "there ought to be more consideration given to the utilization of treaties," but argued that no formal treaties were required in the case of Portugal.

Case was playing his last card when he asked the Senate to cut off money. "We have no authority in this matter to enforce the observance of the Constitution except the power of the purse," he said. "That power ought to be used sparingly. That power is very drastic indeed. But . . . if it is not ever used not only will that power atrophy but so will the government of the United States as a democracy, as a representative government, as a government of divided authority."

This senatorial initiative may not be the last word however: the amendments must still be considered by a potentially hostile Senate-House conference committee on the bill to which they are attached. Meanwhile the White House has announced that it will not oppose another Case bill, passed unanimously by the Senate, which requires the President to submit all executive agreements for senatorial inspection. But a bill giving Congress power to reject any executive agreement will be fought. This measure, currently pending in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was introduced by Sen. Sam Ervin. Riding a wave of resentment in the Senate, the bill has a good chance, at least in the Senate.

Telethon

Afflicted in 1968 with a $9.3 million campaign debt, the Democratic Party has seemed in danger of becoming a terminal case. It was not inappropriate, then, for the party to turn as a last resort to a fund-raising telethon. Marlo Thomas, a California delegate to the convention, likened it to the telethons she had conducted with her father, Danny Thomas, for the benefit of Saint Jude's Hospital. Saint Jude is the patron saint of the hopelessly afflicted.

Political and show-business stars by the dozens performed and asked the nationwide audience to "support the two-party system" with a donation to get the Democrats out of hock. There were a few tacky jokes and embarrassing moments. ("Ladies and gentlemen, the host of the Democratic convention, the governor of Florida, the Honorable Reubin Askew!" Applause. . . . A frantic minute of searching and camera cuts. No governor.) The telethon also had high moments. "Listen to the People," a series of film vignettes by Emil Davidson, presented Americans expressing diverse opinions on the nation's problems and its politics. It included even a smattering of pro-Nixon comments. (One wonders if the Republicans would have made even a token attempt at even-handedness.) Then, in the early morning hours, one saw Charles Guggenheim's still haunting documentary on Robert Kennedy's last campaign.

We dropped into the Watergate offices of the Democratic National Committee in Washington to observe the working end of the telethon. There were 76 telephone extensions, all but a dozen or so in one poorly air-conditioned room (86° F). People walked in from the street, volunteered, and were put to work taking telephone pledges; there were more volunteers than phones. During the peak afternoon and evening hours as the telethon was coming to an end, all 76 extensions seemed to be going at once: each ringing again seconds after it had been hung up. Most of the pledges were small: $5, $10, or $20; but an occasional caller pledged $50 or $100.

The telethon was reported to have cost $1.8 million. There were 175 phone banks throughout the country to take pledges, and on Monday the Democratic Na-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tional Committee estimated it had received $4.5 million in pledges. The Democrats still need more than twice that just to get their bank balance to zero. On the other hand, their Republican opponents have already raised 30 to 40 million dollars to keep the highest office in the land in their hands. Unless the Democrats can raise tens of millions of dollars more, the November election may be as one-sided as President Thieu's.

The Nader Look

Ralph Nader's imposing investigation of Congress is in full swing, and reactions on Capitol Hill are revealing. There will be three main studies: 30 to 40 typed page profiles of each member of Congress, slated for publication in time to influence the November elections; a 2000-3000 page analysis of the legislative process; and a detailed examination of each congressional committee, also due early next year. About 1000 investigators are involved, most of them unpaid and in their late twenties.

At least 30 congressmen have said they aren't going to help Nader rock *their* boat. Bob Fellmeth, who heads the project, estimates that 10 percent are outright refusing to cooperate, 10 percent are enthusiastic about the study, and the rest will go along. Resistance has centered around a 633-item questionnaire reported to take about 10 hours to complete. Rep. Joel Broyhill (R, Va.) informed Nader that the investigation "borders on arrogance" and that the questionnaire "must be considered as an unwarranted intrusion on the duties and responsibilities that a congressman and his staff owes to the constituency he represents." Joe Waggonner (D, La.) politely invited the interviewers to his office and then grinned at them: "I'm not going to give you anything." Disquiet has been as pervasive among liberals as conservatives. According to Fellmeth, many House liberals facing tough races in November have nightmares about the prospect of distorted stories detailing "charges by Nader."

Nader's people know their questionnaire is long but cite several mitigating factors: a shorter questionnaire would have been superficial; the form was accompanied by a letter asking that congressmen "please answer some, many, or all questions as you think fit"; and 60-70 percent of the questionnaire "can easily be done by a congressman's staff." As to fears about November, they point out that incumbents always have the advantage over challengers: taxpayers' money for correspondence, and established offices back home.

The most immediate effect will be on the fall elections: plans are to distribute by mail at least 1000 copies of each profile in the appropriate district. "We want to change the quality of this campaign," says Mr. Fellmeth.

Reconstruction in South Carolina

They used to say South Carolina depended on three rivers: Ashley, Cooper, and Mendel. Mendel Rivers, former czar of the House Armed Services Committee, has gone, and one of the most economically underdeveloped parts of the country is forced to look for income to sources other than new military installations. For rural Beaufort and Jasper counties, new hope comes from an old institution: Penn Community Services.

Unique among community development organizations, Penn was founded on St. Helena Island in 1862 as a school and community center to educate and care for freed slaves. Its first teachers, Laura Towne and Ellen Murray, were Vassar graduates from Philadelphia. Though the Civil War was raging, the US Treasury was prepared to invest in the training of Negroes to plant, harvest, and sell the cotton on plantations vacated by their former owners. Northern entrepreneurs (not all of them carpetbaggers), teachers and missionaries came to St. Helena.

In 1900, the school was formally incorporated under South Carolina law and its direction assigned to a board of trustees. In addition to a school for black children, Penn furnished health services and later training in farming, carpentry, basketry, wheelwrighting and other skills. A number of its graduates have become doctors, ministers, teachers, businessmen.

By 1948, the state had assumed increased responsibility for Negro education, and Penn turned to human relations problems, sponsoring planning sessions on integration of schools and public facilities and voter registration drives. It was there that the late Martin Luther King mapped out his March on Washington.

When the Economic Opportunity Act was passed in 1964, Penn's director, Courtney Siceloff, promptly set up new community programs for which federal funds were available. He and his staff wrote up a Headstart program, got it approved, and persuaded the state school system to accept and administer it. They put together a Neighborhood Youth Corps program and then worked to establish an OEO-funded Beaufort Community Action Agency to run it. In 1967, the Ford Foundation gave them money to train and educate blacks on the workings of local government: it was training Peace Corps volunteers for work in Africa.

The watershed in Penn's history came in October, 1969, with the appointment of its first black director, John Gadson. Mr. Gadson is 36 years old and committed to economic improvement to rural blacks through guided self-help. With a staff of 12 and slender funding from foundations and individual contributors, he is trying out a variety of new projects to achieve this result. For example, Beaufort's black farmers, fisher-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men, and business entrepreneurs have long suffered from their inability to work together. The tomato farmer may get 75 cents a bushel for tomatoes which are later sold for $8 to $12 a bushel. Last year Penn helped a group of 75 tomato farmers organize a cooperative. They borrowed $34,000 from a local bank, marketed their tomatoes through a professional salesman at $3 per bushel, grossed $80,000, and returned a profit of $14,000. Similar cooperatives have been organized among oyster and shrimp fishermen.

Because the operations of black building contractors in Beaufort are small and individualized, none has ever received a major building job. The Penn staff has helped them to meet deadlines and assist one another on jobs. In addition, Gadson is setting up a black-owned building supply company and a joint-venture construction company, which will permit a number of individual builders to pool resources and bid on big jobs. Within the last several weeks, Penn received a verbal commitment from Opportunity Funding Corporation in Washington to bond the combined venture.

Penn's most ambitious current project is a local community development corporation (LDC) which has just been set up to assist black entrepreneurs get into business. It is a nonstock, nonprofit corporation with a majority of the board of directors from the local community. A secondary nonvoting "advisory board" includes members of Beaufort's business and financial community. Utilizing private and federal funding including Small Business Administration Section 502 loans, LDC will provide financing to black businessmen who cannot otherwise get credit from local banks. The SBA business development loans are important: the interest rates are low, the term can be up to 25 years, and they can account for up to 90 percent of the total funding of a venture. The LDC will also furnish technical and managerial assistance well beyond the scope of advice on farming techniques that Penn has traditionally offered. One planned project is a chain of black-owned and operated grocery stores to replace scattered and inefficient "mom and pop" stores. Once owners learn the economics of large-volume purchasing and combined advertising and marketing techniques, their businesses should become more profitable and their prices more competitive with those in the white-owned supermarkets, which now get most of the area's business.

Penn has been instrumental in establishing Black Land Services to halt the loss of land through tax sales and other devices which black owners frequently don't understand. To the rural black, land is his only source of power. The affluent resort areas of Hilton Head and Fripp Island were once almost entirely black-owned. These and other valuable lands have been bought up by unscrupulous developers, with little or no payment or equity returned to the original owners. This has been made possible to a large extent through poor records, inequitable laws, and the failure of black owners to record their titles as they inherit family land. Under South Carolina law if taxes remain unpaid for three years, the property can be sold to pay them and many speculators have thereby acquired large holdings. Black Land Services is assisting in sorting out and recording titles, educating landowners on how to avoid legal traps which could lose them their property, and developing a mechanism whereby the corporation can participate in land sales as a buyer and hold the land in trust for its occupant until he is able to pay off an outstanding lien or obligation.

Recognizing that pride in their cultural heritage is a potent inspirational and unifying force among blacks, Penn has established a small museum devoted to local history. Here are artifacts, writings, and pictures of the early sea-island community, as well as material on African culture and history. Penn's hope is that exposure to this cultural heritage at all educational levels, from elementary school programs to graduate research projects, will produce a self-confidence which can be translated into economic achievement.

Penn has been wise not to get into manufacturing, with its long and unproductive training periods and competitive disadvantage with bigger, established firms. Northern inner cities are littered with the bones of minority-owned manufacturing businesses which were unable to survive despite financial assistance.

Like many of the urban community development corporations, Penn Community Services has had its problems. Yet its emphasis on self-help and group action, with minimal resort to confrontation, is showing success. For rural blacks it could lead to a second Reconstruction, on a more realistic basis than the first one.

Ridgway M. Hall, Jr.

MR. HALL *has studied community economic development for Senator Muskie.*

ABM . . . Again?

> *"It is essential that the US start work now to build an ABM defense of our command, control and communications in the Washington, DC area. . . ."* —Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird before the House appropriations subcommittee on Defense, June 5.

To make certain everyone got the message, Mr. Laird spoke the identical words the following day before the Senate Armed Services Committee. In pressing Congress to build a Washington ABM the Nixon administration thus comes full circle and embraces the concept of an ABM city-defense it wisely rejected three years ago. I say wisely, because an ABM defense of a city

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

makes no military sense unless it can stop *every* missile warhead. Stopping nine of every ten warheads targeted against 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, for example, might be a technological achievement, but it would still leave Washington a pile of marble. On the other hand, an ABM defense of our intercontinental ballistic missiles need stop only *some* enemy warheads to fulfill its purpose of increasing the number of American missiles which would survive a nuclear attack. In sum, while a less-than-perfect ABM defense of ICBMs would be a partial success, an imperfect ABM defense of a city would be a total failure.

In the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems signed in Moscow on May 26, the United States and the Soviet Union each agreed "not to deploy ABM systems for a defense of the territory of its country." The Soviet Union, however, already had a ring of 64 ABMs around Moscow, and the US was near completion of its first ABM site at Grand Forks, North Dakota, which will protect an estimated 60 of the 1000 Minuteman ICBMs. So, instead of banning all ABMs, the two nations agreed to allow each other two sites of 100 launchers each: one an ABM defense of each nation's capital and the other an ABM ring not to exceed 150 kilometers in radius to protect ICBMs. Of course, neither country is required to build either one.

After the Moscow signing, the administration stopped work on its ABM site in Montana, which was about five percent complete, but continued work on the North Dakota site, which is about 90 percent complete and expected to be in operation in late 1974. Now, the Pentagon wants to build an ABM ring around Washington—an exercise so futile that even Senator Henry Jackson (D, Wash.), the Senate's most vociferous defender of the Safeguard ABM, called it "useless."

Jackson is right. An unfortunate, but unavoidable, consequence of an ABM city-defense is that more enemy ICBMs will be programmed against it because military planners—that notoriously conservative breed—will naturally allot more weapons against a defended target. For example, to make certain that Washington is destroyed, Soviet planners might program 105 warheads rather than the five they might allot against an undefended capital. Even if an ABM system untested in battle were to knock down one warhead for every two launchings (a generous assumption), the result would be greater destruction because there would now be 55 nuclear detonations in the area rather than five. The treaty permits six ABM radar sites within a 150-kilometer radius of Washington. These radars would likely become targets, and so the communities adjacent to them in Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, or Pennsylvania would suffer direct nuclear strikes they would have avoided had there been no radars. Indeed, it was the realization that an ABM city-defense would probably increase their chances of destruction that moved citizens in the Boston and Chicago areas to oppose the Johnson administration's Sentinel ABM "defense" of their cities—a factor in President Nixon's switch to Safeguard.

Expounding the official rationale for the Washington ABM, Admiral Thomas Moorer, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, told the Senate Armed Services Committee on June 20: "This defense will protect our decision-making process and command and control facilities and provide additional time to implement appropriate retaliatory measures." A ballistic missile attack on Washington could easily breach the defense (limited by the treaty to 100 ABMs) either by knocking out the system's radars or by simply overloading it with 101 warheads. Unless the defense were a perfect one—and not even the Pentagon's most uncritical enthusiasts believe it can even begin to approach perfection—it could not provide the sort of protection Moorer claims. Anyway, even a perfect ABM system is unnecessary, because the United States has several aircraft to serve as "Airborne Command Post" to maintain command and control over our nuclear forces should Washington go up in a mushroom cloud. No, the protection of command and control is a canard; the Pentagon's desire for the Washington ABM springs from more atavistic impulses. One suspects the admiral was closer to the Pentagon's true feelings about the new ABM when he said, "Our failure to construct the Washington site to balance off the Soviet capability would leave an undesirable asymmetrical relationship which would be destabilizing and weaken our overall deterrent posture." Through that stream of Pentagonese one can almost hear a sibling whining about his consanguineous rival's new toy.

The proposed Washington and North Dakota ABMs may even cost more than the earlier system which was to protect four Minuteman ICBM sites. *The Washington Post* has reported that the Pentagon estimates the cost of the two sites at $8.5 billion: a half billion dollars more than Secretary of the Army Robert Froehlke's estimate for the four-site program three months ago.

The plan to build the Washington ABM demonstrates one of the dangers of the administration's so-called bargaining chip strategy. The Safeguard ABM system was sold to Congress not on its military merit but on the notion that it could be bargained against the Moscow ABM at the strategic arms limitation talks to obtain an ABM agreement. Now that the ABM treaty has been concluded and the bargaining chip theory supposedly vindicated, logic would dictate *not* building either the Washington or North Dakota ABM if only to devote the resources saved (about $3.5 billion) to new bargaining chips. After all, if the Soviet Union learns from experience that we will not stop building a weapon once it has been started regardless of the outcome of negotiations, she may become less eager to bargain and more inclined to start building new weapons of her own to counteract our latest bargaining chip. Before SALT, the Soviet Union had shown no inclina-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion to build an ABM to defend her ICBMs. By continuing the North Dakota site, we are giving her an incentive to offset it with one of her own. Likewise, the 64 ABMs around Moscow, which the United States could easily overcome, one-to-one, with just seven Poseidon submarine-launched ballistic missiles, is driving us to squander billions of dollars for an ABM ring around Washington that even Safeguard's staunchest advocate has called "useless." As if this were not enough, Laird wants to develop the prototype of a new ABM system "to deploy a terminal defense of US ICBMs should that become necessary." Whether or not such a defense becomes "necessary," it will be possible only if the United States breaks the ABM treaty.

There is no chance that Congress will eliminate funds for the North Dakota ABM, but there is a chance the Senate will kill the Washington ABM. Although the House affirmed the Washington site by defeating, 258 to 117, an amendment to eliminate it, the exhortations of Laird and Moorer did not convince the Senate Armed Services Committee of its necessity. The committee deferred all funding for the Washington ABM until it "is fully outlined and justified by further information. . . ." While funds for the Washington ABM could be authorized in a subsequent bill, the military procurement authorization bill is going to the Senate floor without it.

Peter J. Ognibene

MR. OGNIBENE, *a 1963 graduate of the Air Force Academy and instructor in political science at the academy from 1968 until his resignation from the air force in 1970, is now a free-lance writer.*

High Food Prices

Scapegoats and Sacred Cows

The White House fanfare for new food-price policies announced in late June was a public relations trick to keep farmers and cost-conscious consumers sedated through the November election. Ordering the temporary suspension of meat import quotas, extending price controls to unprocessed farm products, and jawboning the food industry will not have any significant effect on the rising cost of living. If the President is serious about long-range control of food prices, he should take a broader view and push for fundamental, though politically difficult, reforms in agricultural legislation. The solution to meat-price spirals lies in *permanent* elimination of import quotas and reduced restrictions on cattle grazing.

Chances of quick emergency action are slim. Nixon's sensitivity to farm interests was demonstrated June 29 when he ruled out direct controls on prices producers can charge for raw agricultural products, a move that could have cost him a substantial farm vote. Instead he extended controls for the first time to unprocessed farm products, mainly fresh fruits and vegetables, eggs and raw seafood, at the wholesale and retail levels. The new controls take effect only after the first sale by farmers. Farm goods have been exempt from regulation since the economic stabilization program began.

What the President didn't do is more important than what he did since it shows how limited his actions were. He did not put a freeze on food profits or prices or place ceilings on individual commodities. Donald Rumsfeld, director of the Cost of Living Council, admitted that controls on unprocessed goods "cannot drive food prices down." They are supposed to exert downward pressure on already slender markups and profit margins along the food-marketing chain, but the results will be minimal. The same margin and markup restrictions have been applied by the Price Commission to meat prices since November 1971 without success. Food middlemen no longer will be able to widen their markups on, for example, fresh tomatoes, but when farm prices rise because of short supplies, retail prices still will surge because price hikes are allowed to cover justifiable cost increases. The profit-margin rule was applied to a company's sales of unprocessed as well as processed food items before the President's action, so broadening use of this restraint will only affect firms dealing solely in unprocessed food products. Even then firms are not covered if they have a "small business" exemption. Token enforcement of regulations allows most violators to go unchallenged and is completely inadequate to police expanded controls.

Inflation in uncontrolled farm food prices has been the weakest spot in the economic stabilization effort, eroding public confidence in the system. Yet farmers and the administration resorting to scare tactics, claim that price controls at the farm level would create shortages and black markets and require a huge bureaucracy. The President's cosmetic manipulations were carefully timed to divert attention from large wholesale food price increases beginning in May that will show up in consumer price indexes this summer.

One reason for soaring food prices is the rising American standard of living (Agriculture Secretary Butz says, "It's not the high cost of living, but the cost of high living"). US consumers have more money to spend. But the supplies of farm products aren't always adequate because of weather. The result is highly volatile prices, difficult to control. Planting decisions and bad weather have reduced the summer fruit and vegetable supplies. Egg prices, long depressed, have held

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

down food costs, but are now rising. American farmers have kept meat supplies short by withholding cattle from market longer than necessary, waiting for maximum profits. Also, the US cattle population has been expanding too slowly to meet demand, and the western range is fully stocked.

Growing consumer demand for beef and scarce supplies is a worldwide phenomenon. So suspending the meat quotas until the end of this year was an empty gesture. Treasury Secretary George Shultz, CLC chairman with the cattlemen in mind, cautioned that the aim was to stabilize prices, not necessarily lower them. Moreover, the US is no longer the premium market for Australia and New Zealand, the major meat exporters. They can get higher prices in Europe and Japan. If the floating British pound cuts their exporters' profit margins in the English market, some beef could be rerouted to this country. But more imports of manufacturing grade meat, used in hamburgers, sausages and hot dogs, will not lower prices of steaks and roasts. Joseph Belsky, president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO, put it succinctly: "With equal effect the President might have sought to cut the price of Cadillacs by encouraging increased imports of bicycles."

Rising food prices will not be stopped by picking a villain. Clearly, only major farm-policy changes will provide a sustained expansion of the US beef herd. When farm laws come before Congress in 1973, they should be amended to allow farmers to divert some of the 55 million acres in the Midwest and Great Plains from corn and wheat into beef production. Beef prices will remain high next year because some of the potential 1973 supplies will have to be kept on ranches now to expand meat supplies in 1974 and 1975.

There are other prospects for increasing food supplies with less delay. Some 80 House members are pushing permanent repeal of the Meat Import Quota Act before the Ways and Means Committee, arguing that exporting nations can't disrupt traditional marketing patterns just to take advantage of six months of unlimited US sales. Federal marketing orders restricting imports of fruits and vegetables from Central America could be eliminated. Import quotas on dairy products and sugar should be reconsidered along with a review of complementary domestic farm-price supports.

High meat prices will be a recurring problem through the fall because of Nixon's limited approach and long after the people choose their next President unless Nixon suspends the 1973 beef import quota soon. Republican failure to deal with accelerating consumer price increases is jeopardizing their overall goal of a 2 to 3 percent annual inflation rate by the end of 1972 and turning food prices into a hot campaign issue.

Muriel Allen

Ms. ALLEN *is a staff writer for the* Journal of Commerce.

The Nixon Watch

A Private Affair

San Clemente, Calif.

On the second Sunday of the President's midsummer stay in California, he and Mrs. Nixon visited four members of her family—two brothers, a half-brother, and a sister—at the half-brother's home in Las Feliz, a moderately affluent section of Los Angeles. It was a minor occasion, hardly worth the little attention it got. The Nixons were at the home of their host, Matthew Bender, for 93 minutes, and were back at their seaside estate and the adjoining Western White House on the outskirts of San Clemente three hours after they left by helicopter. The trip is reported here because certain events that occurred in connection with it illustrate the rigor with which Richard Nixon tries to enforce his view that he is entitled to privacy when he wants it and is equally entitled to maximum public exposure in the fashion and only in the fashion he desires when that is what he wants.

The jaunt to Los Angeles was in the category that the White House staff calls "movements." The term sometimes heard is "those goddamned movements." Movements differ in several ways from full-scale presidential journeys. In contrast to the elaborate planning, the fleets of official and chartered jets, the crowds and motorcades and swarms of journalists that the trips from city to city and country to country entail, movements are brief and sudden forays, often undertaken on whim, from wherever the President is lodged to a golf course, a beach, a favorite restaurant, a church, or to nowhere in particular on drives through the countryside. They occur in Washington, but the President has more leisure for them and they are easier (though never easy) to arrange when he is at his homes in California and Florida.

One of the differences between movements and journeys has to do with the press and the President's ambivalent attitude toward it. The reporters, cameramen and technicians who accompany the President on the organized trips do so (or think they do) as a matter of right. Within very few limits, they are free to report all that he says and photograph and film all that he does in public, and the White House has no control over the use of the reports and pictures. The White House press corps vehemently asserts a right but really has no right, at any rate no recognized right, to accompany the President on his movements. In this and previous regimes, dating back at least to Franklin Roosevelt's, there have been understandings between the press and Presidents that the incumbent will let a small "pool" of reporters and cameramen tag along with him and stay somewhere near him, though not always in direct sight of him. John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson were notorious for breaching the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

understandings that prevailed in their time and Nixon did it twice during the first ten days of his current stay in California, once to slip away to a beach near his home and again to dine with a couple of chums at a nearby restaurant.

For three discernible reasons, however, he has been fairly good about it. The first reason is that he knows as well as the journalists do why these restricted groups are called protective pools. They are along in case "something happens" to the President, the something most in the minds of all concerned being what happened to President Kennedy and could have happened—the possibility is never far from the thoughts of anyone around the White House—to Richard Nixon during his family visit to Los Angeles. The second reason is that it's a pretty safe procedure for this or any President. Because the poolers, particularly the cameramen, are present on sufferance, they are under effective White House control. If the President or his press spokesman tells the reporters that an entire movement or any part of it is off the record, it stays off the record. If the rule is "no pictures," there won't be any pictures for print or television. The third reason is that Mr. Nixon never knows when he will want reporters and cameramen at hand to publicize some unexpected event—a chance encounter with a friendly crowd, for instance—that may serve him well in print or on television. No President in memory has resented the insistent watching eye of the media more than he does, and none has valued media presence at useful moments more than he does.

Protective pools invariably include two reporters and two photographers representing AP and UPI. A third reporter for a newspaper or news magazine is usually included. The signal that the President expects something good to turn up during a movement is the presence of a silent film cameraman. If a technician required for television sound film is along, the assumption is that there's going to be lots of reportable action. The pool chosen by the White House press man for the Los Angeles trip included the usual three reporters and two wire-service photographers, plus an ABC network film man and an audio technician. A White House staff photographer and a White House audio technician were also assigned. All of them were called to duty on half an hour's notice, indicating that the President had decided only that morning to accompany Mrs. Nixon. Subsequent events indicated that he may not have had or taken time to tell his assistants what he expected and wanted and that they, knowing from experience that Richard Nixon becomes very temperish indeed when his demands for media coverage are not instantly and amply met, expanded the pool beyond the customary size in order to forestall any possible trouble.

The helicopter pad at the Western White House has plenty of room for two choppers, and the poolers hoped to be taken there so that they could watch the Nixons and their staff party board the President's helicopter and take off. The poolers were sent instead to an auxiliary pad, well away from the Nixon compound. Aboard the chopper assigned to them, they were allowed to hover above the President and his party while they embarked. The pool chopper returned to the auxiliary pad, picked up six Secret Service agents and flew ahead of the President's helicopter to a public-school playground near the home of Mrs. Nixon's half-brother, Matthew Bender. Robert Hemmig, the network cameraman, mindful that a President's helicopter can crash, turned his camera on the Nixon craft and filmed its approach and landing. The AP and UPI photographers took no pictures, then or later. Hemmig's camera was still running when Mrs. Nixon, followed by the President, emerged from their helicopted and walked toward the poolers. Stephen Bull, a Nixon assistant, and a military aide, marine Major Jack Brennan, saw what Hemmig was doing and rushed toward him, signaling "no pictures" with forefingers sawing across their throats. A Secret Service agent ran up to Hemmig, shouting "no pictures." Hemmig immediately stopped his camera. Jack D'Arcy, a young press officer who assembles and shepherds the movement pools, told Hemmig after the party arrived at the Bender home, in cars driven up from San Clemente to Los Angeles, that he had to make sure that the film was never used. Without argument and after some friendly discussion, Hemmig removed the film and gave it to D'Arcy. D'Arcy threw it into one of the pool cars and said later that he supposed it had been destroyed. While the poolers and a bevy of Secret Service agents stood outside the Bender home, the White House photographer was called inside to take pictures of the President with his wife and her relatives. Except for Matthew Bender, who was ill, the group walked out to the front porch at the end of the visit and stood there a while, chatting and saying goodbye. The reporters and photographers in the street said that it was a pleasant and warming scene, the kind they'd have thought the President would want to be seen in print and on the tube. But the order was still "no pictures," local photographers and cameramen were barred from the street by the Secret Service, and no pictures were taken. At the school grounds, when the party returned, many of some 200 people standing near had cameras and were shooting away, but no news pictures were permitted then, either. Back at San Clemente, the press chopper again hovered above the President and his companions while they debarked. The poolers then landed at the auxiliary pad, with nothing to show and nothing much to report except that the President evidently wanted the trip with his wife to see her relatives to be considered a private affair.

John Osborne

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Street Scene

The Battle of the Beach Was a Bust

The weekend before the convention got under way, Miami Beach had the carnival atmosphere it usually enjoys during the winter season. "Non-delegates" pitched their temporary canvas homes in the wilds of Flamingo Park, an L-shaped municipal recreation area several blocks from convention hall and frequented normally by the beach's Jewish, aged residents. Different factions marked off their turf: Vietnam Veterans in campers near a baseball field, poor people in tents near the mobile bathrooms, the hippies and Yippies under a large tree, Buddhists near the handball court. Scattered elsewhere in Flamingo Park and throughout the city were women's groups, radical Cubans, a group called Green Power which fed everybody, and hundreds of oglers and newsmen. The Viet Vets had a sign, "Chong Ca Di Miami" (join us in Miami), and although it is hard to put an estimate on the numbers, it is probably correct to say that more media people (about 8000) than militants showed up.

Flamingo Park was a love trip. The old people who live around the park—those who had not joined the "Operation Backbone" movement designed to deny camping permits to the protesters—adopted a live and let live attitude. Two elderly couples playing a hand of Kalukie said their only complaint was the litter. One of the men said, "We ran away from things like this in the North [they were from Riverdale, New York]; we got away from people running around and putting a knife in your back." Still, he seemed concerned primarily about the number of banana peels. Besides the card playing, there were basketball games, handball, tennis (paddle and regular), frisbee, baseball and swimming (in the nude one night). Occasionally a group advocating the legalization of marijuana would stage a "smoke in," but that usually led to frenzied arguments about who was going to do the smoking, the people on the fringes always seeming to get cut out. "Holy Joe," whose real name is Charles Cline and who described himself as an independent Baptist evangelist and missionary, would occasionally trip everybody out with his gospel spouting and holy rolling. The Flamingo Park crowd had to choose between him and Allen Ginsberg, the poet and Om chanter, who has adopted a new syllable for 1972: "Ah," which he says is a very American utterance. There were Jesus freaks carrying a wooden cross around the beaches, and some bad political vibrations from a 59-year-old dress presser named Frank Trezza, intent on arguing communism with everyone. If this account sounds like nothing happened, it's meant to. Nothing did.

Well, a few things did happen. Some members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, about 23, were subpoenaed to appear in Tallahassee, the state capital, in connection with drug charges, effectively dealing them out of the convention for the duration. Students for a Democratic Society blockaded the Playboy Club on Sunday night, but that was handled without incident by the forces of Miami Beach police chief Rocky Pomerance. SDS tried again at a fashion show two nights later, to no effect. The National Welfare Rights Organization took over the convention floor the day before it began, demanding 750 seats so that they could argue their case before the delegates, but left peacefully after joking with Mayor Chuck Hall of Miami Beach. The offices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were ransacked, but that was about it.

The only time violence threatened was on the opening night of the convention, after a rally called by the Welfare Rights people. About 2000 had gathered to listen to tired speeches from Dr. Benjamin Spock, Gloria Steinem, Inamu Baraka, and others. And when the Rev. Ralph Abernathy demanded seats for poor people on the convention floor ("Open the door, McGovern," he shouted), the crowd chanted back, "Open the door!" The chant began to take hold. A black woman shouted to the crowd, "The only way that door is going to open is if it's broken down." No one was sure what to do, however, and the crowd began marching slowly back to Flamingo Park. Then, reports: "They're through the gate, they're inside."

At that moment, a Miami policeman standing near the convention building was stepping quickly toward the fence around the hall, pulling up his pants and tightening his belt as he went. A cluster of Florida state troopers fingered their batons nervously, one removing his helmet, wiping his face and replacing the headgear. Two streams of helmeted officers marched crisply along the fence as a crowd surged toward a gate at 17th St. and Meridien Court. As the crowd approached the gate, it was apparent that no one had broken the barrier. The crowd was confused. Parade marshals, anxious to avoid an incident that would reflect poorly on the welfare march, told the people to return to the park. By this time, 50 riot police had assembled, but the crowd turned the corner and away from the hall. As it passed the office building housing the Yippies' headquarters, shouts of "Let's go back," were heard. Half wanted to go to Flamingo, the tail end wanted to stay and make a stand at the fence. The turning point occurred when a large green banner advertising "Woman Power" was reversed, back toward the convention. It was back to the gate!

Two lines of officers, clubs in hand, awaited the demonstrators. Suddenly a few young men pushed at the gate. Unexpectedly, it opened; the lock appeared to have been broken. Riot cops jumped forward, batons thrusting through the fence at the demonstrators, who fell back. In haste, Lt. Bill McClure of the Beach police

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fixed the lock. Two minutes later, a young man carrying a Vietcong flag thrust his standard through the gate but was repelled by three policemen. The fight for the Meridien Court gate was over.

As the crowd turned back to Flamingo Park, however, three or four protesters grabbed at a fence along 17th Street. It gave, first in one section, then along a 100-foot wide gap. Dodging some rocks and trash, riot police quickly rushed to the barrier, about 40 of them forming their own wall, visors down, batons across their belts. The Maginot Line was secured.

Less than 10 minutes later, the protest—if it can be called that—had ended. The Hare Krishna people appeared with their drums and tinkling cymbals and saffron robes, chanting their music like Pied Pipers to lure the people back. Ginsberg showed up with his followers, "Ahing" his way to the park. A thunder shower put the finishing touches on the struggle. Nobody wanted a fight; better to go back to the park and party.

So, "Siege in Miami," the "Battle of the Beach," turned out to be a bust. The next day, the poor people got 150 tickets to the floor and seemed satisfied. The fence was mended. The 3000 national guard troops who bivouacked at Miami Beach Senior High School and at golf courses in the area were disgruntled at having to serve at both conventions and at their regular summer camp. Two thousand paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne Brigade and 500 marines at Homestead Air Force Base 30 miles from the city weren't even issued bullets. The other officers from various services under Chief Pomerance's command had little to do but give directions to tourists. In medical trailers at Flamingo Park and near the convention hall, medics reported that the most frequent complaint was sunburn and sore feet—not bloody heads. Special courts that had been set up in Dade County to whisk arrested protesters through the judicial process went practically unused, the judges, prosecutors and legal aid attorneys using most of the time to catch up on paperwork. Without the violent confrontations, the $350,000 in federal grants that was spent to give officers' sensitivity training (one of the courses was entitled "The Philosophy of Dissent in a Free Society") was wasted. The rest of the $573,000 grant, which went for walkie-talkies, plastic handcuffs, riot gear, special gas hand grenades, and a night-vision lookout system for the convention hall, can be used when the Republicans get to town.

A final note: on the night of the nomination, with balloting under way in the hall, there was a last fling at confrontation when a couple of hundred SDS and assorted allies "occupied" the lobby of the Doral and demanded to talk to the candidate. To the consternation of the Secret Service and some of his advisers, McGovern, in shirtsleeves, came down and insisted on hearing and answering questions. It was a risky decision, but he played it cool, restated his position on the war (get out), amnesty (grant it), marijuana (make it a misdemeanor, not a felony), abortion (leave it to the states), pleaded for honest communication, and was cheered at the end. In a half hour of bedlam, even danger, he had made vivid the contrast to Richard Nixon.

Robert Cassidy

MR. CASSIDY *is a Washington free-lance writer and a frequent contributor to* The New Republic.

Miami Beach Diary

Sweating It Out

Thursday, July 6

The first friendly voice I heard from across the lobby was Joe Duffey's. One of the more thoughtful exponents of participatory politics, the man from Connecticut raised a question which tells something of the mood here four days before the convention opens: Now that the "New Politics" people have learned how to nominate a candidate, have they learned how to elect one and, even more important, what it takes to govern? Joe is bothered by some of his experience as McGovern's floor leader on the platform committee, which leads him to wonder whether the deeply committed young delegates really understand what's involved in selling a candidate to millions of voters who give only scant attention to the intricacies of the issues, but are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prepared to vote either their pocketbooks or prejudices. Joe had to fight off a move by a young McGovern delegate to put the party on record as favoring removal of *all* tax deductions. Joe remembers his own Senate race when he was wiped out in working-class, ethnic wards in the closing days. He made it clear he wouldn't want to have to return to Connecticut and try to explain to a working-class Democrat why the party was proposing to strip him of tax breaks on the home he saved for years to buy—or at least make a down payment on.

This brings us back to the nagging question of whether "the left" understands what it's like for a middle-income wage earner to balance his checkbook at the end of the month. One of the group quipped, a bit snidely, that they'd "never had to meet a payroll." But that's not what it's all about. For the working class it's those end-of-the-month payments. If more withholding is taken out and taxes and utilities and insurance are up again, can the checkbook be balanced? If not, what little luxury has to be forgone? I recall a few years ago when a salary hike was proposed for members of Congress in an election year. It caused shudders in the Senate. But McGovern, faced with the cost of educating a large family at the time, not only lobbied for it but explained his budgetary problems to his colleagues. One who told me about it was New Mexico Senator Clinton P. Anderson, himself a wealthy man and not up for reelection that year. He didn't want to embarrass his colleagues who were up for reelection by helping pass the salary raise right before an election, but he was impressed by McGovern's argument. That, by the way, was long before anyone in Congress had visions of $42,500 per year.

It's evening now, and another dimension of the problem facing the "New Politics" people once they nominate McGovern and become their party's establishment is a topic of conversation. It was brought into focus by the demand of a coalition of poor people for 750 floor seats at the convention. Not many months ago, such a demand would have been greeted by cheers of "Right on" by many gathered here to nominate McGovern. With victory within grasp, however, the poor people are getting little sympathy from committed McGovernites. Does this mean play time is over?

Friday

The Burger Court jerked us all back to reality by deciding to take up the California challenge. It set off a wave of pessimism among McGovern supporters. If their premonitions are correct, it might be difficult for McGovern to reach the magic number of 1509. They're almost fatalistic about it. "If it weren't this, it'd be something else," they say with a shrug and then go off and work all the harder.

The move of the Burger Court threw the spotlight on another aspect of convention politics—parliamentary maneuvering. If, as expected, the Court rules against McGovern, three parliamentary rulings to be made by chairman Larry O'Brien with advice from Rep. James O'Hara (D, Mich.), chairman of the rules reform commission, could make or break the McGovern effort. First, he has to rule on whether the 120 unchallenged McGovern delegates from California can vote. The rules seem clear on that, stating "no person shall be permitted to vote on his own credentials contest." Notice it doesn't say "his state." Secondly, O'Brien must rule whether 1509 or 1433 votes will be needed to overrule the credentials committee and reinstate the entire McGovern delegation. Both are crucial since, as of now, the McGovern people say they are about 30 votes short of 1509, counting the 120 from California. Finally, a decision must be made on the sequence in which the challenges will be heard. Essential as parliamentary rules are, something explodes in the mind at the thought that the toil of thousands for months on end could come to naught because of a parliamentary decision. True, the party pros have used parliamentary maneuvering to keep control for decades. But this is supposed to be the year of the "New Politics."

It's late evening now and the Burger Court has come out with what, on first hearing, sounds like a strange ruling. "Stayed until fall." What does that mean? Does it mean the Court will return in the fall and rule on whether the Democrats picked the right nominee? We hear a simple explanation from some of the younger McGovernites: "Well, it proves the White House wants Humphrey as an opponent." Still, hundreds of determined McGovern workers pour in and out of the Doral Hotel at all hours of the day and night.

Saturday

The stop-McGovern people are flexing their muscles. This is the day of the horror story: McGovern's nomination would wipe out large numbers of Democratic congressmen and senators, not only in the South but across the industrial heartland of the country. One friend says she and her husband went to a party of about 100 young Jewish businessmen and their wives in Washington, almost all of whom normally vote a Democratic ticket. She was shocked to find she and her husband were the only ones ready to say they'd vote for McGovern in November. An aide to an Indiana senator who traveled "incognito" through his state in recent weeks, heard at every turn, "McGovern's crazy if he thinks he's going to give $1000 of my money to *those* people." A compromise candidate is a must. Speaking of compromise, I was told at breakfast that Wilbur Mills is actively promoting a Kennedy draft and has 200 first ballot commitments. Clearly, he's angling for a Kennedy-Mills ticket. Why? Does he want to give up all the power of the Ways and Means Committee chairmanship for a mere mention in the history books? Perhaps a man does start thinking in those terms in his sixties. Since then, I've checked around

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and find no evidence of such a move.

Despite the obvious intent of the McGovern horror stories, I'm concerned at how often the $1000 per year comes up. McGovern flubbed that one. His position should have been clarified in the California debates but it wasn't. It's hurting McGovern here and it's going to be difficult to straighten it out later. Late tonight, I mentioned this to two top McGovern operatives in a coffee shop. They dismissed it with, "We've been hearing that sort of thing all along. If it wasn't that, it'd be something else."

Sunday

Ed Muskie spent the day keeping intact his record as the most indecisive man in politics. Only 24 hours remain before the convention is called to order and he still hasn't decided how he stands on the California challenge. Meanwhile, his influence over his own delegates fades. It illustrates the central dilemma of the stop McGovern forces: they can't hold themselves together on the one vote that could sidetrack the frontrunner. Muskie is being pulled and tugged from every direction. This morning, he had breakfast with Governor Gilligan of Ohio, who was washed out in his state primary because he jumped on the Muskie bandwagon early. The influence of the governors, like other party officeholders, had been seriously undercut by the party reforms. But Gilligan is trying to give the governors some "presence" by pushing a compromise which could seat all delegates elected in accordance with state law—the McGovern slate from California and the Daley bloc from Illinois. If Gilligan should succeed and McGovern still be nominated, it would boost Gilligan's prospects to be the vice presidential nominee. Last night, Rep. Morris Udall (D, Ariz.) pushed a different kind of compromise in his meeting with Muskie. He wants both the challenged and the challengers from the two states seated with one-half vote apiece. This wouldn't be fatal to McGovern and, in Udall's mind, would keep Muskie clear of a direct involvement with the Humphrey strategy. He considers this imperative.

While Muskie was still debating his position, 10 days after the credentials committee acted, chairman O'Brien indicated he will rule for the McGovern people on two key parliamentary questions—allowing the 120 Californians to vote and setting the majority needed at 1422. The rulings, along with Muskie's indecisiveness, lifted the gloom among McGovernites, who are certain they will win tomorrow night and go on to nominate their man.

The most popular button at this convention reads: "Free Martha," a reference to Martha Mitchell's claim she's a "political prisoner."

Monday

Unwieldy as it seems because of the sheer numbers milling about, the convention permits McGovern to present himself at close range in caucus after caucus, where his self-confidence complements his sincerity. Generally, he's been a success as he pleads his case in the California credentials fight. He was particularly effective at the Iowa caucus yesterday afternoon. He spent most of his time praising Hughes (who was present) as the "father of reform" in the Democratic Party, explaining Hughes should have headed the reform panel McGovern himself chaired but was blocked by Humphrey. He singled out Hughes' support of the McGovern position on the California challenge as an outstanding example of "fair play." Privately, McGovern is bitter over Hughes' failure to support him. McGovern's aides are convinced Hughes, a man of commanding presence, is propping up the indecisive Muskie, and say Hughes could end the whole thing. Hughes, in turn, finds himself in a moral dilemma. He feels he must fulfill his obligation to Muskie; even as Muskie's campaign manager, however, he can't in conscience back the California challenge. Meanwhile, his aides confide that Muskie's inability to act decisively is unnerving to Hughes. So the Iowa caucus, where the McGovernites are fighting hard for the votes of a bloc of Muskie delegates on the California challenge, was a particularly effective place to diffuse Hughes' influence by using effusive praise. It went over well.

It's midday and Muskie has finally spoken. At first hearing, it seems incredible he'd make a public offer for a closed-door meeting of all the candidates. On reflection, someone in the Muskie camp must have an instinct for the jugular. Why? McGovern has a tendency to concede points in a man to man confrontation. The Muskie people must think that in a private meeting with five opponents and no staff men around, they could take not only McGovern's shirt but his pants, too. Persons close to Muskie have claimed all along that McGovern didn't get Muskie's endorsement a couple of weeks ago because, in a huddle with him, McGovern tended to concede too much. Mills has been quoted to the same effect.

McGovern has declined to go. That may prove to be a mistake, because if he'd come out of it fully clothed, one allegation would have been refuted. On second thought, given the nature of convention politics, that version of McGovern would have been succeeded by the image of a man who wouldn't compromise. In short, he couldn't win. (New Muskie story: On Monday, Muskie headed for an elevator at the Fontainebleau, causing one person to comment: "Oh, no. It will take him 10 minutes to decide whether he wants to go up or down." The "Stop McGovern" movement gets more desperate by the hour.)

Tuesday

Shortly before 2:00 a.m. power passed to a new breed of politicians. Their triumph was accompanied by surprisingly little bitterness, and within hours this new

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

establishment had shown its strength by ousting Mayor Daley and his 58 followers after the Daley men turned their backs on a compromise settlement of the Illinois delegate challenge. The signs accompanying this coming of age are many. For instance, the efforts of a few hundred "Hippies" and "Yippies" to try and tear down a fence and to force their way into the hall; it was easily repulsed. Meanwhile, inside the hall thousands of young people are working feverishly to help McGovern get the nomination. Over and over, people are saying those who were forced into the streets of Chicago are inside this time. If they'd been let in four years ago, we could have been spared a lot of the agonies that followed. The change has many faces. Two of the big name "freaks" of the late sixties—Jerry Rubin and Abby Hoffmann—have gone straight and are accredited newspapermen this year. It's what they call the "opinionmakers" who are being hassled a bit. Nothing to compare with 1968, but early this morning a newsman had to rescue Senator Moss of Utah when the Andy Frame guards wouldn't let him back on the floor because he'd left his credentials there with a friend. Before he was rescued, Moss was shoved aside by a guard who made it clear he didn't care who Moss was. The "security" overreaction is incredible. Troops line the fence. The cost of protecting the convention from a few hundred demonstrators who have no desire to get their heads bashed in must be high.

On the floor, the McGovern discipline is firm, answering a question that has been echoing through every hotel lobby in Miami Beach all weekend: can McGovern control his people? He can. In contrast, his opponents can't theirs; so it looks as if we've been asking the wrong people the right question, itself a commentary on the politics of the last decade. The first test was the South Carolina challenge. The McGovern people performed so beautifully it was the next day before most of us knew what had happened and then not many could understand it. But it was crucial enough to explain: the outcome of the South Carolina challenge itself didn't particularly concern the McGovern managers, despite the emotional commitment of the women's caucus to the challenge. McGovern's managers had only one objective: they didn't want a test on the South Carolina challenge of chairman O'Brien's ruling that a majority of those eligible to vote, rather than a majority of all on the temporary roll (1509), is enough to pass the minority report. They wanted the test of his ruling on California, when the 151 challenged McGovern California delegates would be barred from voting but the 120 unchallenged McGovern delegates would not. They watched the South Carolina tally closely to make certain over 1509 votes were cast one way or another, and when it was apparent the vote was nip and tuck, the McGovernites moved with dispatch to switch some 40-50 votes against the South Carolina minority challenge. In short, they dumped it as, in quick succession, Wisconsin, Oregon, Colorado, Montana and Vermont—all McGovern-controlled delegations—gained recognition to report a new vote count. It was all over before the hapless managers of the anti-McGovern coalition knew what hit them.

But the real display of power was on the Chicago question. Determined to show the country they wanted to negotiate, the McGovernites had ex-governor Morrison of Nebraska move to suspend the rules and offer a compromise. But Daley was told he had the votes and stood firm. McGovern didn't have the two-thirds needed to suspend the rules. But having made the gesture, and lost, the McGovernites promptly rewarded Daley's arrogance in recent weeks by kicking him out of the convention and then rapidly disposing of the remaining challenges so everyone could go to bed. All the while, the "Stop McGovern" forces were falling apart on the floor. Muskie delegates defected en masse on the California challenge. Labor leaders, led by the hapless and comic ex-state senator Frank King, chairman of the Ohio delegation and an AFL-CIO state president, were in turmoil. Through it all, Al Barkan, Meany's political errandboy, was holding forth from a box on the edge of the convention floor, passing out some vicious pamphlets he had printed up. At one point, he was heard to rage at a labor colleague: "Don't even breathe until I tell you to." So they held their breath while the disciplined "New Politics" people took over the party.

At breakfast this morning, a friend with strong ties to the Humphrey and labor people told me he's now convinced McGovern can be elected. "I'm so impressed by McGovern's organization and the control they had last night and so disgusted with the labor people. They couldn't control any of their states," she complained. Her sentiments are heard on all sides.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wednesday

I was just a bit surprised at the ease with which the party's new establishment adapted to its newly won power. I shouldn't have been. It comes naturally to them. There's Frank Mankiewicz, Gary Hart and Fred Dutton, schooled in Kennedy campaigns, and the tougher politicians from the McCarthy ranks such as Rick Stearns, Eli Segal and Ann Wexler. They're not novices, and they exercised power with a heavy hand as weary delegates wrestled with the platform until dawn. In succession, they beat down efforts from within their own ranks to add abortion, higher guaranteed income (the $6500 of National Welfare Rights Organization) and soak-the-rich tax planks. They were taking no chances. The aisles were crawling with McGovern staffers moving from delegation to delegation. I'm told that as the hour grew late mikes were turn off here and there to prevent a roll call on proposals that would have failed anyway. They had some help in the delegations. Senator Ribicoff was useful, as he has been throughout. Ex-Gov. Morrison of Nebraska told me he held his delegation in line against the abortion plank by putting it in terms of "loyalty" to McGovern. He was having to fight some of the McGovern managers in Nebraska on this question. Others did the same.

This afternoon, there's some grumbling in the women's political caucus over the two defeats handed them by the McGovernites—on the South Carolina delegate challenge and abortion. Every "issue group" which has called on McGovern this week comes away feeling he agrees with them; they then find his efficient political managers putting them down when they try to move.

Since yesterday there have been rumbles that the McGovern managers were going to "dump" the new party charter adopted by the Rules Committee. Ann Wexler confirms the rumor, explaining that deferring the matter is a bone being tossed to George Meany and Al Barkan, who are adamantly opposed to so fundamental a reshuffling of power within the party. I wonder if that particular bone is one labor really cares about.

The Rules Committee met this afternoon and did the expected. It's called a "compromise." What it does is to postpone further internal reform for later consideration, removing the proposed Fraser-O'Hara charter from the Rules Committee report.

Over at the Doral hotel, there's an uproar among McGovernites over his statement about keeping troops in Thailand until the POW matter is settled. The kids don't like it, they need reassurance, and they're not alone. I was told later in the day that the Massachusetts delegation, made up largely of peace people from McCarthy's '68 campaign, was so outraged there were threats of a bolt to McCarthy and Lt. Gov. Bill Dougherty of South Dakota. A key McGovern aide was thrown out of their caucus but later invited to return. Despite the restiveness of the Massachusetts McGovern delegates, they held solid on the roll call. And ironically, it was the delegates who replaced Daley in Illinois who finally put McGovern over. They also gave McCarthy his only two votes at this convention. It wasn't a rousing occasion when it finally came. Everything at this convention has been anticlimactic since power changed hands early Tuesday.

Thursday

Everyone's talking about the vice presidency. By now everyone conceivable seems to have been mentioned. McGovern is handling it informally rather than going through the elaborate charade Nixon staged on the top floor of the Fontainebleau four years ago. He's meeting with his staff at midmorning to toss the question around and then will make the decision. Kennedy, of course, was McGovern's first choice. McGovern's polls show Kennedy is the only one who could substantially help the ticket and McGovern called to make the offer and was rejected. McGovern isn't *insisting* on a Catholic, I'm told, and I think that's sensible. Conservative Catholics are upset over two issues—abortion and federal aid to parochial schools. Will merely putting a Catholic like Eagleton, Gilligan, Lucey on the ticket dissolve those doubts? Many voters might not recognize some of these men as Catholic, as they didn't in the case of Senator Muskie. Each one has other assets, however.

If McGovern is looking for an "ideological" ticket, any of them, as others such as Mondale or Bayh, would do. Askew of Florida was popular with the delegates, even though his speech dribbled into clichés in the closing minutes. To many, it would have been an appealing ticket—clean-cut (Askew has no known sins) honest and straightforward, young. But Askew today took himself out. A lot of the "old guard" is pushing for Wilbur Mills, which might be a wise choice. McGovern having flubbed his welfare proposal by giving his critics that convenient $1000 a year handle to club him with, Mills could allay some fears and make it easier to go to Wall Street for help in the campaign, if he needs it. He hasn't done badly without it. The McGovern campaign has raised $3 million in pledges here since the credentials fight was won on the floor Tuesday morning.

Four o'clock and the word's come down: Sen. Tom Eagleton of Missouri—43-year-old Amherst and Harvard Law graduate, former attorney general of his state, liked by Labor, a Catholic, one-time Muskie supporter, a tough-minded liberal. He's not well-known . . . yet. That won't take long. He's articulate, unstuffy, bright. A lively and personable addition.

So we've come to the end of the beginning, two new brooms offering to sweep out the White House—if that's what the people want.

Paul R. Wieck

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann from England

London Theater

When it is good, it is very, very good; when it is bad, it is at its usual level.

Americans tend to imagine a glory about the London theater that, as a level, simply does not exist. We need to shed our theatrical inferiority complex *vis-a-vis* London. Broadway is no worse than the West End. In some ways, it is preferable.

The English exceptions are treasures. Last year I saw a production of Gorki's *Enemies* by the Royal Shakespeare Company under David Jones that was beautiful. This year, amidst a lot of trash, another treasure: the Royal Court production of *Hedda Gabler* adapted by John Osborne, with Jill Bennett (Mrs. Osborne), directed by Anthony Page.

Alan Tagg has designed a setting, lighted by Andy Phillips, that transforms the small Royal Court stage into a large Nordic nineteenth-century mausoleum. Osborne has rendered Ibsen as he should have done: which is to say, he has not wrenched the play to fit a theory or serve as hobby-horse, he has simply seared the dialogue into language that shows why he admires the play and was attracted to it. It is urgent, supple, *useful* theater writing. For instance, after Hedda has offended her husband's aunt about her hat, she says, "These things just seem to wait for me to do them."

The line is not only a sample of Osborne's diction, it is a clue to Hedda and to Jill Bennett's performance. (She is best-known in the US through her film performances: as the aunt with the heart-attack in Bette Davis' *The Nanny*, as Trevor Howard's lady friend in *The Charge of the Light Brigade*.) This Hedda comes in finished, though only subconsciously aware of it, gliding airily to an end that is in her own nature and of her own doing. Some of the London critics complained that Bennett's performance was not tragic, but *Hedda Gabler* is not a tragedy, it is the *denouement* of a tragedy. Gooses were cooked long before the curtain rises. Hedda never tries to change her life, to pry herself free, to leave her husband or take up again with Lovborg. She simply toboggans down the slope on which she has already started, and vindictively—she would say idealistically—takes Lovborg with her.

The *prior* tragedy is essentially one of gender. Hedda has the impulses and imagination of a man—romantic but male—in a society that provides no place for a woman but the conventional one. Her father, the General, is often mentioned; her mother never. Her father's pistols (phallic symbols, need one point out?) are pivotal in the story. Her frigidity, her boredom, her loathing of her pregnancy, her terrible vengeances, are all unwitting functions of a biological doom that has condemned her to a role for which she is not psychologically or temperamentally fitted. This production even suggests, quite aptly, a lesbian touch toward Mrs. Elvsted. All these matters Jill Bennett encompasses admirably.

For American theatergoers, who recently had Claire Bloom's inept Hedda visited upon them, here are a few comparisons to help make matters vivid. Bloom was a petulant, grown-up schoolgirl, striving for glacier force; Bennett is gracious, humorous, easy with superficial facets that contrast ironically with her depths. Bloom strove pathetically to be commanding: Bennett never bothers—her rich voice, her lynx-like presence allow her, figuratively, to do as she pleases yet never lose us. Bloom wanted not to lose our sympathy; Bennett doesn't care if we hate Hedda—she seems to understand that what Ibsen is after is something larger than having us like a star, he wants us to loathe a certain world, the one that made her.

Ronald Hines is a perfect Tesman: we can understand how Hedda might have slipped into marriage with him. Brian Cox, the Lovborg, plays with a hulking Marlon Brando solidity, rather than the usual poeticizing ethereal quality in the role. Denholm Elliott, long a favorite of mine, plays Judge Brack like a sadistic surgeon.

Anthony Page's direction bothered me at the outset, with its linear, angular movements and compositions, often quite neatly parallel with the footlights. Then these patterns began to suggest the corsets and stays of this society. At only one point would I quarrel: he has Hedda downstage of Brack when he tells her of Lovborg's suicide. The focus should be on her, not on Brack. As is, she has a difficult time controlling the moment.

Bennett has a few other tonal difficulties toward the end. But if she doesn't quite fulfill the desperate self-immolation feeling, she has been so captivating until then that we are willing to rationalize on her behalf: perhaps Hedda is so trapped in a mingy world that large-size Medea movements are impossible even at the finish.

After such knowledge, what forgiveness? I saw three other London productions in the last five days, and could sit through only one of them (because I was a friend's guest). The biggest disappointment was *The Lower Depths*, another Gorky play produced by the Royal Shakespeare Company and directed by David Jones. First of all, un-

(continued on page 34)

Films Worth Seeing

Cabaret. Sex and politics and sexual politics in Isherwood's Berlin. Smart Broadway show biz on screen.

A Day in the Death of Joe Egg. An English couple with a spastic child in a picture of wit, sex, and anger, that gets its pathos without bathos.

The Hospital. George C. Scott blasting through Paddy Chayefsky's script about a doctor caught between menopause and medical muddle. Good bitter fun before it collapses.

Tokyo Story. Quite simply, one of the filmgoing opportunities of your lifetime. Yasujiro Ozu's gentle masterpiece, about parents, children, and time.

La Salamandre. Two young writers and a girl about whom they try to write a TV documentary. Intelligent, deft, disturbing—by Alain Tanner, a gifted Swiss newcomer.

The Sorrow and the Pity. Four and a half fascinating hours. Marcel Ophuls' masterly documentary of occupied France and some survivors.

Malcolm X. The power of Malcolm himself is the power of the straightforward documentary derived from his autobiography.

SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sedulus on TV

Hoked Up Conspiracy

Revenue sharing is the name of the ploy by which President Nixon is trying to get at Public Broadcasting's Sander Vanocur. In the name of "localism," Mr. Nixon has vetoed the Public Broadcasting Act. What alarms the President and his advisor on telecommunications, Clay Whitehead, is that old Eastern media conspiracy. The conspiracy is trying to build at taxpayers' expense a fourth network colossus: a colossus which bankrolls *Black Journal, The Great American Dream Machine* and Nader-inspired specials. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), says Mr. Nixon, "originally intended to serve only local stations, is becoming instead the center of power and the focal point of control for the entire public broadcasting system." He declined to mention Sander Vanocur or the size of Vanocur's salary ($85,000), though that got the top billing in both houses of Congress. Mr. Whitehead has already decried "taking the taxpayer's money and using it to express controversial points of view which are going to be opposite to the points of view of many citizens." So much for diversity, and so much for alleged control from the top. The administration is having it both ways.

So possibly, as with a Vietnamese village, we will have to destroy public TV in order to save it. The veto has now crippled the local stations as much as the CPB "fourth network." By authorizing $65 million for public TV this year and $95 million the next, Congress would have earmarked 30 percent for locals from the corporation budget and tripled the money now available to them. The President proposes instead a $45 million budget—to be voted annually, so the CPB won't go too far with any funny ideas—which would have to satisfy 200 local TV stations, 90 radio stations and scattered national production centers like the Children's Television Workshop. The Carnegie Commission a few years ago suggested a total budget of $270 million. Put that alongside the budget of commercial television: approximately $2700 million.

CPB does not starve the locals, it just starves. Since 1968 it has scraped up a meager national schedule: 15 hours of prime time measured against 81 hours of commerical prime time. As a funding agency, CPB claims it delegates most production and writing powers, but Whitehead charges, "they produce and write [national] programs anyway." Actually, the real program producers are the eight big production centers in the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), most of them local channels like WNET in New York that have been around longer than CPB itself. "We don't produce, we purchase," one CPB honcho told me. His agency "contracts out for ideas" either to local channels or to national production centers like Sander Vanocur's National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT). All these little power centers feed back into PBS, which bicycles the tapes out to the boondock locals; they in turn can make their own schedule and run or ignore any national program. No monolith here.

The conspiracy theory makes a kind of desperate sense—only a conspiracy could cut through all this national-local chaos and *produce* something. As it is, with too many groups responsible for too little money, it's small wonder the BBC provides the best moments on PBS. American writers and producers must first find the right PBS outlet in which to plug themselves, then wait for tax dollars to trickle through the labyrinth. In the annual scramble for appropriations, the artist has no lobby.

Whatever the effect on program quality, PBS "home rule" has been good politics on the Hill. The locals have climbed into the saddle. They control 12 out of 19 directorships in PBS and under the vetoed bill would have held five out of 15 seats at the corporation level. The network is so democratized that Whitehead has had no luck driving a wedge between the locals and the corporation. It's obvious the locals need both local and national funding. To compete with its commercial rivals, a community station must be able to feed from an appetizing national menu. It can interview the mayor or screen a local spelling bee just so many times before the public is fed up. A TV audience, even an educated minority audience, has come to expect programming pitched at a national, not a provincial standard of quality.

If the administration were sincere about "localism," it could tell its friends on the FCC to let cable TV flourish. Opening up more cable channels would give us a real choice between the local and national programs. But that's not localism, that's socialism to the White House. Localism means squeezing out the national PBS schedule and treating the PBS stations like solitary farm clubs. It means tilting with the eastern tyranny of NET—a benign despotism, really, given the financial vacuum in public television. It means squashing documentaries and other news programming. To this end, the rhetoric of localism isn't worth a hoot. The locals themselves want federal money to move into the trackless badlands of public affairs. All but 9 out of 143 stations polled chose public affairs as their top-choice program category.

Whitehead insists the commerical networks already do "quite a good job in that area," and alludes with great civic piety to the danger of government censorship. But if public broadcasting shucks off public affairs, there's not much on the airways to take its place. The recent DuPont-Columbia survey shows commercial TV journalism to be more void than wasteland. With revenues of $4 billion a year, the three networks devote only two percent of prime time to news and public affairs. Public affairs broadcasting is less than 28 percent of the small clump of PBS prime time, but it is the only competition any of the networks have left.

It now seems Congress won't be able to override Nixon's veto. Public TV will have no clout in Washington until it has a bigger constituency in the country. It will be up to programs like "Sesame Street" to build that constituency, to prove their worth not on the Hill but in the living room. Indeed, next to money, public television needs most of all what Nicholas Johnson calls "a Sesame Street for adults" to mobilize a mass adult audience in support of the network.

Whitehead has been urging broadcasters to sniff at ratings: the more highbrow and esoteric, the better. But commercial TV in this country falls way short of even middlebrow culture. Without being crass or vulgar, public TV is in easy reach of a mass audience. Les Brown, *Variety's* TV-radio editor, writes in his book, *Television:* "I would ask for a public television system that shoots for 10 percent of the viewership, say 7 or 8 million souls in a half hour of prime time, and then looks for 15 percent." If public TV is to strain toward a genuinely public identity, it needs a reasonably strong center, which is what Whitehead and Nixon fear.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Against the Academic Dragon

The Politics of Literature: Dissenting Essays on the Teaching of Literature

edited by Louis Kampf and Paul Lauter

(Pantheon; $10)

Teaching literature in American colleges today might be likened to the reading of hard-core pornography: both have little redeeming social value. This in any case is the underlying assumption in Pantheon's latest academic "anti-textbook"; assembled here are 12 essays which indict the pornography of the profession on grounds which extend from the traditional undergraduate blues to economic and political repression.

As documented in this collection, the sordidness of the profession can be attributed to what we might term the Great Literary Conspiracy. The lineaments of this Conspiracy are indeed sinister: colleges and universities which gear their institutions to the inculcation of bourgeois values and literature departments which acquiesce in such necessities; outdated curricula which ignore economic, social, and political realities; the iron grip of the New Criticism, which posits a concept of "pure" literature divorced from political (and frequently moral) contexts; the undemocratic and reactionary practices of the Modern Language Association; the "publish or perish" syndrome; and an inherent racism in hiring and in textbook selection.

All the contributors to *The Politics of Literature* are products of the Great Literary Conspiracy and dissenters from it. They write from drastic and sometimes painful personal experience, and the confessional tone of their essays ranges from the poignant to the vindictive.

Take as an example the case of Bruce Franklin, who is the only true revolutionary represented. Franklin caricatures the English professor in the following manner: "He is white and he is male. When he works, he wears a tie and jacket. He makes $14,000 a year for nine months' work. He is called 'Sir' or 'Doctor.' He teaches one and a half hours a day. But he also attends meetings and gives advice. He reads books and articles and writes books and articles about books and articles." He is also a democrat and a liberal, the high priest of literary culture.

I am not certain that Franklin exaggerates, but his hatred of the WASP English professor is most evident. Interestingly there is a high degree of self-portraiture involved; Franklin, like the other dissenters (all of them white) in this collection, has come a long way in a short time. The Bruce Franklin I knew as a Stanford graduate student in the early 1960s resembled the prototype he describes in the opening lines of his essay. Here was the bright young protégé of Ivor Winters, whose course in Hawthorne and Melville crackled with a lively intellectual current which was as notable for its literary caste as for its absence of social or political relevance. Franklin was fond of "avatars" and mythic allusions in those days; there was little evidence in his lectures of Hawthorne as reactionary artist, or of Melville as radical visionary. In short, Bruce Franklin ran a brilliant but fairly straight lit-crit course.

In a single decade Bruce Franklin moved from the top ranks of the Great Literary Conspiracy to betraying it by becoming a political activist. He betrayed the Conspiracy by dispensing with the arm bands and the countless candles of nighttime vigils against the war and by substituting for them ideology and action. The rest—Franklin's membership in Central Committee of Venceremos, his verbal attacks on Henry Cabot Lodge and other administration spokesmen visiting Stanford, his bitter altercations with members of his own department—is recent history, culminating this year in Franklin's dismissal, despite tenure.

Today's teacher of literature is faced with the same alternatives Franklin had before him: either conform to the image created for him by his department and the profession, or change his role entirely and teach on the assumption that all acts, in class and out, are political, and that commentary on literature, as Kampf and Lauter stress in their introductory essay, "develops dialectically in relation to events." If he opts for the latter alternative, he will begin to teach differently: he might push for the sort of courses—Revolutionary Literature, Imperialism, The Antislavery Struggle—suggested by Lauter; or destroy the walls of the classroom entirely by sending students into job situations, as described in Florence Howe's essay, "Why Teach Poetry?—An Experiment." And any scholarship which emerges from this enterprise will possess those extraliterary dimensions which characterize the brilliant essays on 19th-century working-class poetry and on feminism in fiction by Martha Vicinus and Lillian Robinson.

Of course, the Great Literary Conspiracy is not yet, except inadvertently, turning out in its graduate departments

In The Secret File

A drunken party in the secret file
With a vomiting on tape and a sad orgasm
Is not experienced for its style,

Although this unedited original
Is suffused with the naive charm
Characteristic of the secret file.

When they take it out for a little while—
Typescript, tape, and pix—the mixed form
Is experienced not for its style

But for the way it makes the subject liable,
And they smirk at the broken rhythm
Of his breath in the secret file.

The next transcript is pretty dull.
"No, sir, I was not connected with any ism"
Is not experienced for its style.

Was the impudent questioning his trial?
Was the bad-breathed tumbling a kermis?
A drunken party in the secret file
Is not experienced for its style.

RALPH ROBIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the revolutionary product described above; it does continue to produce the earlier prototypes of individuals who are congenitally ignorant of the social consequences of the literature and language they teach. For every new graduate who understands the logic of Nonstandard English (William Labov addresses himself to this issue in a remarkable essay in the collection), there are dozens of other Standard English crazies ready to kill off all language for unsuspecting undergraduates. Despite the ideological basis of this book, which many readers will reject, we are left with the lingering suspicion that Franklin and Ellen Cantarow, who among the 13 writers assembled here present their cases the most intimately, are correct when they assert that graduate students in literature are taught to be socially and politically dysfunctional.

Although increasing numbers of English teachers are turning away from the establishment, I doubt that a palace revolution is imminent. The radical gurus—who are represented in this volume by people like Kampf, O'Neil, and Ohmann—are relatively safe from academic intimidation, and they will continue to push for change. But the profession today is financially beleaguered, and times are especially hard for the young radical teacher. She or he risks disfranchisement, for the profession essentially dislikes prophets. It is lamentable that radicals should be deprived of their jobs (one of the editors, Paul Lauter, was dismissed from the University of Maryland at Baltimore for alleged "subversion of the grading system," whatever that means) because of dissenting action and opinions against the academic dragon. As a colleague of mine sadly remarked: even Cassandra had a job.

Gil Muller

Clumsiness and Disorder

A Happy Death
by Albert Camus
translated by Richard Howard

(Knopf; $5.95)

A Happy Death is not a finished piece, nor did Camus ever attempt to publish it. It is an awkward first attempt at fiction, the failure of which Camus knew only too well. At 23 Camus had written lyrical essays of great beauty, but he had not yet learned the discipline of the novelist; he could not step away from his work. *A Happy Death* is intensely personal: a canvas on which Camus tried to splash all that was precious to him—on which he tried to express, in one series of images, his whole existence. Camus himself offered the most knowing critique of his efforts, writing in a notebook about the time he abandoned the work:

> The true work of art is the one which says least. There is a certain relationship between the global experience of an artist, his thought and his life . . ., and the work reflecting this experience. This relationship is wrong when the work gives the whole of this experience surrounded by a fringe of literature. It is right when the work of art is a section cut out of his experience, the facet of a diamond in which the gem's inner luster is reflected but not exhausted.

One must indulge Camus his youth here, embarrassing as it may be. To take joy in discovering, for example, that "idleness is fatal only to the mediocre," it helps to be young and idle. And yet he is right, and his insight is no less brilliant for its self-indulgence.

A Happy Death must be accepted then for what it is. If one brings to it an understanding of the later Camus it is an invaluable piece of writing. Here we see more of Camus, the individual, than in any other writings but the lyrical essays, and we see dimensions which were muted even there. As Camus wrote in 1958, in a preface to the republication of his first book of essays: "clumsiness and disorder reveal too much of the secrets closest to our hearts."

The "plot" is relatively simple. Patrice Mersault (read Camus, not the Meursault of *The Stranger*) kills his wealthy friend, a cripple, for his money. We then flash back to a view of Mersault's daily life: his poverty, a romance, his deadening routine. A discussion with Zagreus, the murder victim, tells us why Mersault murdered him and establishes the central theme of the book: that the only duty in life is happiness (for Mersault this involves consciousness, presence to oneself, lucidity, rather than normal "pleasure"), that one needs time to achieve this happiness, and that money gives one time. Part two begins with an autobiographical journey to Prague, where Mersault sinks into despair and near madness before turning south in search of reunion with the Mediterranean sun. During his descent toward Algiers he comes to understand his life and its only goal:

> To lick his life like barley sugar, to shape it, sharpen it, love it at last—that was his whole passion. This presence of himself to himself—henceforth his effort would be to maintain it in the face of everything in his life, even at the cost of a solitude he knew now was so difficult to endure. He would not submit.

(This passage is almost word for word what Camus had earlier written in a notebook about himself and his life.) After several months with three female friends in "the House Above the World" (also autobiographical), Mersault buys a house near the sea and the ruins of Tipasa, where he lives alone. A simple yet conscious life, in harmony with nature, brings happiness. After a sickness and a midnight swim, Mersault dies—a "conscious death," and thus a happy one.

In the 1958 preface Camus wrote: ". . .at least I know this, with sure and certain knowledge: a man's work is nothing but this slow trek to rediscover, through the detours of art, those two or three great images in whose presence his heart first opened." The great value of *A Happy Death* lies in the presence of two of those images: the young Camus' inti-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mate love of the Mediterranean sun and sea, and his Nietzschean drive for lucidity, or "consciousness."

The latter is especially revealing, for we have not seen it expressed so directly before. We remember Camus as "the conscience of his age," the tortured liberal humanist of *The Rebel*. But here we see, full-blown, the passionate artist and and solitary who was constantly struggling against that societal conscience. Mersault (like the young Camus) cannot let another have a piece of his life: "There's the risk of being loved, little Catherine, and that would keep me from being happy."

The work rings with the extremes to which youth will take its freedom. Mersault does not yet know what he is, and therefore must be everything:

> You know, Zagreus, I think of the lips I've kissed, and of the wretched child I was, and of the madness of life and the ambition that sometimes carries me away. I'm all those things at once. I'm sure there are times when you wouldn't even recognize me. Extreme in misery, excessive in happiness—I can't say it.

He believes that he can, through sheer will, make himself what he wants to be. And Camus holds to this faith, giving Mersault his wish:

> Of all the men he had carried inside himself, as every man does at the beginning of his life, of all those various rootless, mingling beings, he had created his life with consciousness, with courage. That was his whole happiness in living and dying.

Such words ring false, as they must. Mersault is not ready to die, as he thinks. He has hardly lived, and done so only under the illusions which accompany youth and freedom. At 23 Camus' spirit was still uncertain which of those impulses it felt were real. World War II was his test—it taught him what in him was essential and what was luxury. The significance of *A Happy Death* comes in light of what he could write in 1958:

> I've learned at least that other people do exist, and that selfishness, although it cannot be denied, must try to be clear-sighted. To enjoy only oneself is impossible, I know, although I have great gifts in this direction. If solitude exists, and I don't know if it does, one should certainly have the right to dream of it occasionally as paradise. I do from time to time, like everyone else. Yet two tranquil angels have always kept me from that paradise: one has a friend's face, the other an enemy's.

David Osborne

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

GIL MULLER *teaches literature and culture at LaGuardia Community College, CUNY. Poet* RALPH ROBIN'S *book,* Cities of Speech, *was published recently by The Byron Press, University of Nottingham, England.* DAVID OSBORNE *is on the staff of* The New Republic.

A Trifle Outmoded?

The Lies of Art: Max Beerbohm's Parody and Caricature

by John Felstiner

(Knopf; $8.95)

There are those who think Edgar Allan Poe started it, but how in the world could one old toper have done so much? Certainly the French Symbolists had much to do with it ("and as for living our servants can do that for us"), as did Oscar Wilde. Whoever is to be blamed, there it suddenly was, a vision of the possibilities of "aesthetic autonomy."

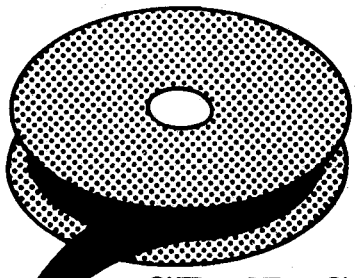
I take the phrase "aesthetic autonomy" from a current issue of *The New York Times*, just to show that after nearly a hundred years the vision still won't go away. The phrase was in the *Times* in a direct quote from "a leading scholar who asked that he not be quoted by name" as he discussed the latest round in the endless fight about Ezra Pound's right to receive American literary prizes. Yes, the annual Emerson-Thoreau medal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences has recently *not* been awarded to EP (aesthetic autonomy lost that round) with the result that several members of the academy have dutifully resigned. EP is now old and silent; Max Beerbohm has been dead 15 years; they never had much in common (Beerbohm once described EP as crazy, and loved to parody obscurantism in modern poetry), but they knew each other and for many years lived in the same town, Rapallo. Most important they are, oddly, both manifestations of the same fuzzy, enormous and undeniable artistic movement, one that is now discredited as elitist by social radicals but still dominates the literary establishments (see the review of *The Politics of Literature* in this issue). John Felstiner has written a book about Beerbohm that makes a useful addition to the tonnage that has been written about aesthetic autonomy, ten million critics telling Dorian Gray's picture how to (or how not to) take over from Dorian Gray.

In a way Beerbohm is a crucial figure, like Pound, in the movement. Unlike Pound he did not regard himself as a great artist, and his role in the movement—drawing funny pictures of all the early players—seems sometimes very negative. Yet he was there early on the London scene in the '90s—as a contributor to the *Yellow Book*, as drama critic for the (English) *Saturday Review* and as caricaturist for the *Daily Mail*—and he was thoroughly involved personally, as Felstiner shows, with the Dorian Gray theme even when delighting in ridiculing it. His contribution to the first issue of the *Yellow Book* in 1894 praised, for example, the glorious powers of rouge, and noted a "renascence of cosmetics"—to "prepare a face," as Prufrock later observed, "to meet the faces that you meet," and thereby make a work of art of one's own mug. When the critics complained about his cosmetics essay (one said it was "not merely indecent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and indecorous [but] also inartistic and untrue to Nature, and offends the moral sense"), he replied indignantly that he had been misread, that the piece was "a burlesque upon the 'precious' school of writers." Felstiner says politely that Beerbohm had *not* been misread by the critics, and devotes the rest of his book to an effective demonstration of all the ambiguities in Beerbohm's own aesthetic. Thus we see Beerbohm as a drama critic taking a sort of middle stand about realism (he comes out, "in review after review, for realism, not reality," or in other words for "an illusion of reality"); and we see him as caricaturist and parodist ridiculing Henry James' aesthetic excesses, but being far crueler to the anti-artists like Shaw and Wells and Kipling who, he felt, subordinated their art to "social engineering" or jingoism or other matters outside what he regarded as the proper confines of aesthetic concern. It seems in other words hard to deny that Beerbohm was pretty "precious" himself. And knew it: he drew more caricatures of himself—usually as a dandy with cane and top hat—than of anyone else.

Beerbohm's biographer Lord David Cecil has described Beerbohm as one who, though fanciful, always had his feet on the ground. I think Felstiner would not agree; he constantly suggests that Beerbohm was fearful of the ground, the fear being the preliminary psychic condition for finding a refuge off the ground, in art. Unfortunately Felstiner doesn't like to play biographer, so the reader is left to piece together from different parts of the book the forces that may have forced him off the ground (such as the presence of a big, successful and masculine brother who apparently made him feel insecure sexually; but *not* the presence of his Jewishness, which Malcom Muggeridge said he was "in panic flight from" but Felstiner denies, asserting that "there is no evidence of Jewish background in Beerbohm's family"), but of the fact of the *need* for refuge there seems no doubt. Beerbohm was a creator, a maker of his refuge self because of his dissatisfactions with his ground self. After making a splendid splash as a dandy for a couple of decades in London he tired of that and found himself another kind of refuge, namely retirement, or perhaps we should call it expatriation, in Rapallo. There in 1910, at 37, he married and settled down to be a sort of recluse and to describe himself as "a trifle outmoded." He certainly *was* outmoded when he died nearly half a



Greatest Advance Since the Typewriter was Invented! No More Smeary Erasing—Covers Mistakes Instantly, Permanently!

SELF-CORRECTING TYPEWRITER RIBBON!

Most exciting, needed advance since the typewriter was invented! As of this moment, every messy, smudgy, smeary typewriter eraser in the world hits the scrap heap for good. No more erasing—ever! Bottom half of miracle ribbon is like a magic wand that makes errors disappear before your eyes. To make corrections, just back space, shift ribbon selector and retype error. Presto! White ink makes error completely invisible. Order extra ribbons for friends. This is one gift they'll love you for! No CODs.

MAIL ORDER MART, Dept. 14
2701 Sterlington Road, Suite 132
Monroe, Louisiana 71201

Please send me the quantity of ribbons checked below. If not satisfied, I will return ribbons within 10 days for full refund.

☐ 1 ribbon $3.50 ☐ 2 ribbons $6.00

Brand Name of Typewriter—Check Model Below
☐ Standard ☐ Electric ☐ Portable

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____

"Only Eleanor Roosevelt has written so fully about the anxieties and fulfillments of being a politician's wife."*

Morton Broffman

"I see this book as a strong addition to the sagas of modern women's lives — Lillian Hellman's 'Unfinished Woman,' 'Eleanor and Franklin,' and 'Zelda'."
—Doris Grumbach, New Republic

"One of the best political memoirs in years." *—Frank Getlein, Washington Star*

"The McCarthy book we have all been waiting for . . . has come to us not from him but from his wife." *—John Barkham, Saturday Review Syndicate*

PRIVATE FACES / PUBLIC PLACES ABIGAIL McCARTHY

With 16 pages of photographs; at all booksellers

DOUBLEDAY

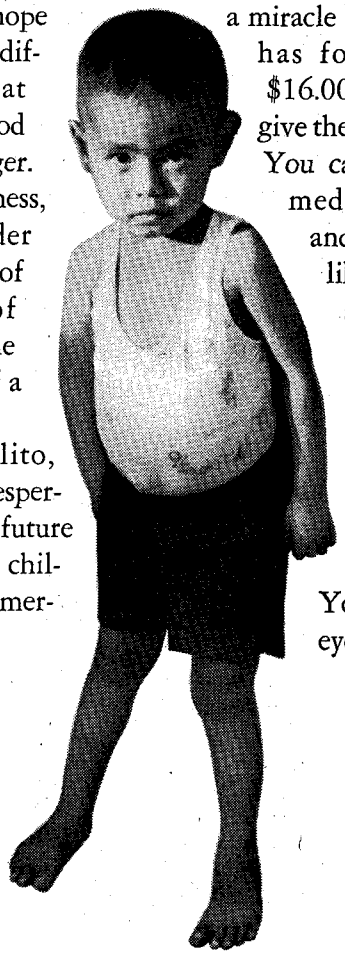
*New York Times

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To him... you would be 10 feet tall

...and someone very special. Someone he would call "Foster Parent" who would make it possible for him *and his family* to hope that tomorrow would be different. A tomorrow that would bring nutritious food in place of gnawing hunger. In place of pain and sickness, there would be the tender care of a doctor. Instead of the crushing burden of despair, there would be the sympathetic counseling of a trained social worker.

This little boy, Joselito, needs a Foster Parent desperately. Without one, his future and those of thousands of children like him in South America and Asia will be a weary struggle to survive.



As a Foster Parent, you could work a miracle for a child the world has forgotten. For just $16.00 a month you could give the gift of life to a child. You can help bring food, medical care, clothing, and hope to someone like Joselito. At the same time you can help his family stay together. Learn skills. Learn how to help themselves. Won't you make room in your heart for a Foster Child? You'll be a giant in the eyes of a little boy.

FOSTER PARENTS PLAN, INC.

352 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010

I want to be a Foster Parent for a year or more of a boy_____ girl_____ age_____ country_____. Where the need is greatest_____.

I enclose my first payment of: $16.00 Monthly_____ $48.00 Quarterly_____ $96.00 Semi-annually_____ $192.00 Annually_____.

I can't become a Foster Parent right now but I enclose my contribution of $_____.

_____Please send me more information.

Name_____

Address_____ Date_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

PLAN operates in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Indonesia, Republic of Korea, the Philippines, and Viet Nam. PLAN is registered with the U.S. State Department Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Contributions are tax deductible.

In Canada, write 153 St. Clair Ave. West, Toronto 7, Ontario NR-5-72

century later, yet the word "outmoded" still seems partly incorrect, suggesting as it does that he had wanted to keep up with the modes, when the truth seems to be that he wanted out.

Half of our modern literature has been tied up somehow or other with expatriation, with wanting out; and the connection between this impulse, with its diverse and complicated social and psychological origins, and the literature of aesthetic autonomy that resulted hasn't been studied with much effect, I'd say, by the critics, largely because the critics are still mostly New Critics—that is believers, with different degrees of intensity, in aesthetic autonomy who therefore do not want to disturb the autonomy. Felstiner is no exception. He wants to stick to the art, not get distracted by the life; and though he does well by the life incidentally, he is extremely referential and off hand about it, and deliberately does not rise to the big bait of psyching or sociologizing the aesthetic-autonomy scene as a whole as he plugs away at Beerbohm. What do we *do*, for example, with Beerbohm's politics (after all, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences got Pound for *his*)? With his contempt for women (when not in their place) and blacks and Americans? Well, Felstiner backs off, and there are those who will say bully for him. Yet the art of Beerbohm does partake constantly, as Felstiner shows, of the texture of the life—so why not dive in?

Anyway here was a glorious wit who was also, despite his detachment, a notably sharp observer of individuals and society. Maybe the detachment increased the sharpness; certainly Beerbohm's distaste for too much everyday unprocessed reality did not extend as far as his eyes, which from early childhood made seeing the character line of a face or body not only their duty but delight. Felstiner tells us that drawing for him was easy and natural, relaxing as writing was not; in fact he doodled steadily in the margins of his much-worked-over manuscripts. The Felstiner book is full of the drawings, which are a delight, and Felstiner does a thorough job of pointing up their properties in detail—noting for example that Henry James is always shown with his eyes wide open, almost pop-eyed, a sign of vigor and "insatiable curiosity," whereas Beerbohm's caricatured politicians generally have their eyes closed. Felstiner has a labored thesis—one that Beerbohm might have enjoyed parodying—to the effect that parody rather than caricature was Beerbohm's greatest

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strength, being the medium or genre in which he could express himself most fully and complexly. This may have been so, but the strength of the Felstiner book seems to me to be in its coverage of the lesser art.

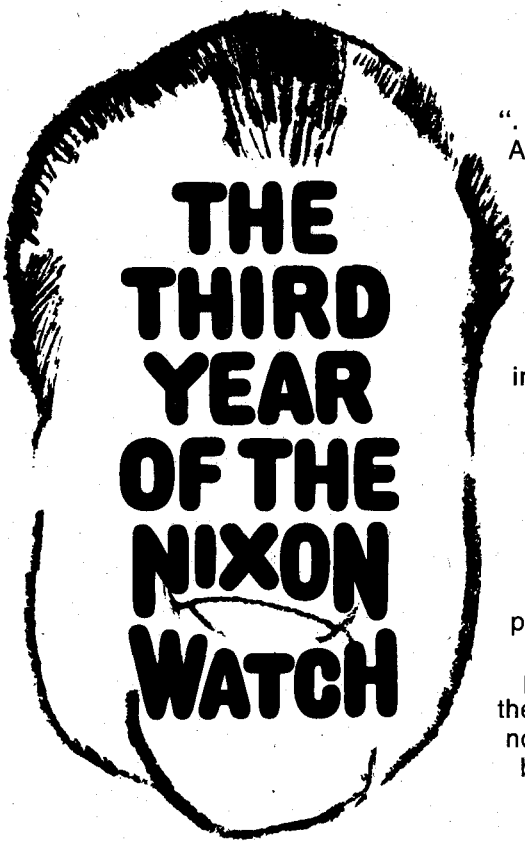
There is a lot of Beerbohm still in print—his dramatic criticism, his verse and some of his stories. I do not think his greatest parody book is available, *A Christmas Garland*, with 17 parodies of the dominant literary styles in Beerbohm's neighborhood just after the turn of the century. Last year, however, an excellent volume of Beerbohm's *Selected Prose*, edited by Lord Cecil (Little, Brown, $6.95), was published, which contains seven of the parodies, and they are marvelous stuff. Felstiner tells us James' comment upon reading "himself," that "no one, now, can write without incurring the reproach of somewhat ineffectively imitating—you!" The Little, Brown volume and the Felstiner book make a good pair, displaying Beerbohm's diversity. The virtue of diversity in this case might also be to compensate for the difficulty that, when it comes to laughter, no two laughers agree. I was left merely stony, for example, with Lord Cecil's examples of Beerbohm's "incomparable" wit, but when I went to reading Beerbohm myself I was soon out of hand. Let me conclude then with a stage direction from *'Savonarola' Brown* that knocked me out and that probably nobody else will find even slightly comic:

> [*Re-enter Guelfs and Ghibellines fighting.* Sav. *and* Luc. *are arrested by Papal officers. Enter* Michael Angelo. Andrea del Sarto *appears for a moment at a window.* Pippa *passes. Brothers of the Misericordia go by, singing a Requiem for Francesca da Rimini. Enter* Boccaccio, Benvenuto Cellini, *and many others, making remarks highly characteristic of themselves but scarcely audible . . .*]

Reed Whittemore

COMING

Peter Caws reconsiders
Alfred North Whitehead's
Adventures of Ideas



by **JOHN OSBORNE**
ILLUSTRATIONS BY PAT OLIPHANT

"... in the long tradition of Anglo-American political journalism at its best and most useful."
—*CBS Radio*

"With Jules Witcover's 'The Resurrection of Richard Nixon' and Garry Wills's 'Nixon Agonistes,' Osborne's continuing chronicle of his Nixon Watch is the most perceptive account we have ..."—*Newsweek*

"substantial and enlightening"
—*Chicago Tribune*

"... as more and more power devolves on the office of the presidency, as presidential staff mushrooms, and as 'executive privilege' becomes a battle-cry, the need for this type of reportage not only grows proportionally but becomes a veritable necessity."
—*The Washington Post, Book World*

$6.95 at your bookstore

LIVERIGHT
386 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10016

BRIGHT COLLEGE STUDENTS . . .

have been reading THE NEW REPUBLIC since 1914.
"And is the world any the better for that?" you ask.
Who knows? But **they** are.

That's why we offer a special student subscription that will deliver this journal to your college student from the **September 16 issue right on through May 26, 1973**—from the campaign through the elections to the settling in of the next Administration. $6.95 for 36 weeks of a liberal education.

Send THE NEW REPUBLIC to the following student:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please enclose check or money order for $6.95.
No charge orders accepted.

(This offer ends August 15, 1972)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Exchange of Views

McGovern's Economics

Income Tax and Welfare Reform

Senator McGovern's campaign has emphasized the need for a coordinated and integrated reform of two systems that work badly today: the individual income tax and public assistance. Such a reform would have two features:

1. The income tax base would be broadened to include items that now escape taxation. The major items are capital gains, tax-exempt interest, excessive depreciation and depletion. Their exclusion benefits mainly high-income property-owners.

2. For low-income taxpayers, perhaps for all taxpayers, *personal tax credits* would replace personal exemptions, standard deductions, and low-income allowances. The credits would offset gross tax liability, and would be paid in cash to the extent that there is no tax liability to offset. In this way the credits serve as income guarantees.

I have for many years advocated reform of this kind[1], and I am glad the cause has been espoused by a major presidential candidate. It is too bad that confusion on details and numbers has obscured the basic principles. Obviously the debating format of a heated primary campaign does not foster public enlightenment on such complex issues.

In the pages of *The New Republic*, however, Melville J. Ulmer (June 24, 1972—"McGovern's Economics") had the opportunity to clarify and educate, and it is too bad he left as much confusion as he found.

One objective of these proposals is to replace most of current cash welfare programs. (Most, not all, because state supplements may be necessary in some areas where current welfare benefits to those eligible exceed the universal income guarantees of a federal system.) Mr. Ulmer says the objective is also "to get the government out of the social security . . . business," i.e., to replace Old Age, Survivors, Disability, and Health Insurance or Unemployment Insurance. I have not proposed that, and, what is vastly more important, Senator McGovern has not. He has, it is true, quite reasonably noted that if social security beneficiaries were made eligible to receive tax credits of $1000 or more per year per person, social security benefits would not have to be increased as much in the next few years. How Mr. Ulmer could think that McGovern contemplated substituting a negative income tax for any part of existing social security benefits, much less for the entire system, is incomprehensible.

Mr. Ulmer is also misleading when he says that "this approach also requires doing away with the 'means test'." Some readers might conclude that benefits would not depend on financial need. In fact the net amount any family receives from the government would depend on its size and its income, as Mr. Ulmer's own example of the sliding scale for a family of four indicates. The approach does provide an "objective formula for dispensing public funds," in the same sense that a tax code provides an objective formula for collecting them. A single agency, the Internal Revenue Service, would administer and enforce the law for citizens on both sides of the ledger. Why does Mr. Ulmer disapprove of these changes?

After pointing out the problems of the negative income tax approach—both adequate income guarantees and work incentives are costly—Mr. Ulmer expresses but does not elaborate his preferences for "federalization—along with generous extension and liberalization—of existing welfare provisions." He owes readers an exposition of this approach and its superiority.

In my 1968 paper cited above, I presented several plans. One involved per capita tax credits of $750 a year, and a flat tax rate of 33⅓ percent (though possibly a progressive rate structure at the top) on income very comprehensively defined. I showed that such a tax would have produced in 1966 enough revenue, after deduction of the $750 credits, to match the yield of the personal income tax less the welfare outlays that the new system would displace. In his February 1972 speech on tax and welfare reform, Senator McGovern cited this particular published plan of mine as one of several approaches worthy of consideration and suggested $1000 as an up-dating of my $750. It is only in this sense that McGovern can be said to have espoused "Professor Tobin's version [which] would give $1000 to every man, woman and child in the country." Actually I do not favor giving the same tax credit to every person. I would relate the tax credits to age, so that adults get more than children.

In my 1968 article I attempted to estimate the redistribution from those who would pay more taxes under the plan to those who would pay less or receive grants. The estimate for 1966 was $43 billion, of which $14 billion would go to those below official poverty lines. These numbers cannot, except by coincidence, apply to another year and plan, even to one that simply raises the $750 to $1000. Senator McGovern recognized this in his *Business Week* interview of May 27. If Mr. Ulmer had read McGovern's February 1972 speech and my 1968 paper, he would have known that the $43 billion and $14 billion apply to the $750 plan and to 1966.

Another of Mr. Ulmer's misunderstandings is his statement that "Families with earnings above $12,000 [the breakeven for a family of four] would be subject to the regular positive income tax, plus a whopping extra tax necessary to finance the subsidies." Actually, they would continue to be taxed at the same 33⅓ percent rate, and their tax credits would offset part of their gross tax.

The arithmetic of a plan of this kind may be illustrated with reference to calendar year 1975. Consider tax credits averaging in that year $1000 per capita, amounting in aggregate to $216 billion. A comprehensive base for the personal income tax under full employment conditions would be in the neighborhood of $1000 billion. At tax rates averaging one-third, this base would yield gross revenue of about $333 billion leaving the Treasury with $117 billion after the tax credits are taken out. The revenue could be augmented, and progressivity improved, by moderate surtaxes on high incomes yielding another $16 billion. That brings the yield up to the $132 billion projected in the recent Brookings study as the yield for calendar year 1975 from current personal income taxes. In this sense the plan is self-financing, costless to the federal budget. It raises all the money it pays out. Indeed it does better than that, for it takes the place of at least $12 billion in federal public

[1] See, for example, my article "Raising the Incomes of the Poor," in K. Gorden, ed., *Agenda for the Nation*, Brookings 1968, where I set forth several alternative specific proposals.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

assistance now projected for 1975.

Some people pay more, most people pay less or receive more, than under the present system. A precise estimate of the redistribution must await the publication of basic data on taxes now paid by families of various sizes and shapes, data now stored in the memory of a Brookings computer. I suspect that, because of the general increase in incomes over the intervening years, the redistribution from those who pay more to those who pay less or receive more would be *smaller* than the $43 billion I estimated for the $750 plan as of 1966.

A unitary tax and welfare reform of the type just discussed already embodies a comprehensive broadening of the base of the personal income tax. Since it goes further than a minimum tax on incomes of types currently not taxable, it makes that approach redundant. In Senator McGovern's February speech he set forth a number of options. The unitary "credit income tax" was one; the minimum tax was another. The minimum tax was not intended to be the source of funds for the $1000 tax credits. It might better be viewed as temporary, an interim step towards comprehensive tax reform, and Senator McGovern has since said that he regards the Mills-Mansfield approach as a superior route.

The 1975 Federal Budget

The McGovern proposals add up to a balanced full-employment budget. Take as a reference point the calendar year 1975, for which the authoritative projections of Charles Schultze and his Brookings colleagues show that revenues from existing taxes will fall short of expenditures in the current and proposed programs of the Nixon administration by $12 billion.[2] McGovern revenue proposals will not only cover his new programs; they will also fill the $12 billion gap created by tax reductions of 1969 and 1971.

Mr. Ulmer's suspicion that the McGovern budget doesn't balance stems in part from his misunderstanding about the personal income tax and welfare reforms. That package is to be self-financing, not a drain on the funds which McGovern proposes to cut from the defense budget or gain from corporation tax reforms. Indeed it will replace funds now projected for welfare outlays. All these additional funds are available for new civilian expenditures. Here is the picture for calendar year 1975, assuming full employment:

[2] The figure Mr. Ulmer cites, 17, is the corresponding figure for *fiscal* 1975.

Table 1
McGovern Changes in the 1975 Full Employment Budget

Sources of Additional Funds	
Defense budget cut	35
Corporate tax reforms	13
Public assistance programs displaced by McGovern tax-welfare reform	12-15
	60-63
Uses of Additional Funds	
Budget deficit in Brookings projections	12
Additions to Brookings budget expenditures in McGovern proposals	41*
	53

*The press has reported McGovern expenditure programs totalling $56 billion a year. Of these $5 billion in revenue-sharing is already in the Brookings budget, and $10 billion of social security increases to be financed from general revenues will not be necessary if the welfare reform is adopted.

I suppose it is a small matter, but I did not classify Senator McGovern as a "radical-conservative." That label is Mr. Ulmer's own, and so, of course, are the deep ideological implications he associates with it. What *I* said about McGovern, accurately reported in *Business Week*, was this: "If it's radical to be concerned with questions of poverty, equity, and fairness, then he's radical—but conservatively radical, because this has a strong, long American tradition." So far as I can see, the notion that McGovern has an ideological compulsion to "shove the federal government to the back of the stage" is a figment of Mr. Ulmer's imagination. Just like Mr. Ulmer, McGovern proposes public employment to give jobs to the unemployed.

I hope and believe that McGovern's economic and social programs are pragmatically, not ideologically, motivated. On pragmatic grounds I continue to believe that transfers of money are the most reliable known way of alleviating poverty and reducing inequality. I was not surprised when Nixon's economic adviser, Herbert Stein, chided McGovern for raising the "divisive" issue of income inequality and redistribution. I

Why Do You Read So Slowly?

A noted publisher in Chicago reports there is a simple technique of rapid reading which should enable you to increase your reading speed and yet retain much more. Most people do not realize how much they could increase their pleasure and ability in their personal and professional life by reading faster and more accurately.

According to this publisher, many people, regardless of their present reading skill, can use this simple technique to improve their reading skill to a remarkable degree. Whether reading literature, business material, technical matter, it becomes possible to read sentences at a glance and entire pages in seconds with this method.

To acquaint the readers of this publication with the easy-to-follow rules for developing rapid reading skill, the company has printed full details of its interesting self-training method in a new booklet, "How to Read Faster and Retain More" mailed free to anyone who requests it. No obligation. Send your name, address, and zip code to: Reading, 555 E. Lange St., Dept. 806-00, Mundelein, Ill. 60060. A postcard will do.

distinctive
CHRISTMAS CARDS

The new catalogue of the famous Museum Christmas cards – an unparalleled selection of paintings, drawings, goldsmiths' work, stained glass, sculpture, and graphics ranging across fifty centuries. ☆ Unusual Museum Christmas presents include exact copies of ancient jewelry in gold and silver, sculpture, rare early American glass, porcelain, the new engagement calendar, *Beasts of Earth & Air*, and the new snowflake wrought in sterling. The cards are priced from 10 to 35 cents; the Christmas presents from $2.75 to $150. They are made especially for the Museum and can be bought *only* by mail or at the Museum itself. Send the coupon below to reserve your copy of the 72-page color catalogue to be mailed about September first.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
255 Gracie Station, New York 10028
Please send me the Museum's new catalogue of Christmas cards, 25 cents enclosed L4
*Name*_____
*Address*_____
_____ ZIP_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was surprised to find a contributing editor of *The New Republic* making the same objection.

James Tobin

Sterling professor of economics at Yale University, Mr. Tobin was a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, 1961-62.

In reply:

Mr. Tobin implies that I oppose redistributing income in favor of the poor. Yet I have written at length in *The New Republic* and elsewhere on methods of achieving that objective and indicated my position once again in the article in question. What I did say is that among the methods I consider the least effective is the Tobin plan, which McGovern initially espoused but which has since slipped into the dim background of the candidate's public presentations.

For the Tobin plan would bribe the disadvantaged with an inadequate handout and do so in a format that is unnecessarily expensive. Tobin conceals its expensiveness by using a highly inflated tax base for 1975, to which he applies an innocently modest tax rate of 33⅓ compared to what would really be required. He estimates the personal income tax base at $1000 billion, although in 1970 it was only half that according to the Internal Revenue Service; hence he must have foreknowledge of a huge, unprecedented inflation. He further reinsures low expenses, despite the anticipated inflation, by keeping the basic subsidy at $1000 per person. If the price level tripled by 1980, which is not much out of line with the trend he postulates, would he still stick to the $1000 subsidy? McGovern would not, as he indicated by elevating Tobin's original subsidy proposal of $750 (based on conditions in 1966) to $1000.

A similar whimsicality with figures is demonstrated in the full employment budget Tobin presents toward the latter part of his letter. McGovern has proposed a $54.8 billion defense budget, implying a cut of about $22 billion from the expenditures planned by President Nixon for 1973. Tobin is able to elevate the saving to $35 billion. Perhaps inflation again. On the other side of the ledger, however, Tobin forgets all about inflation, population increases, and similar growth factors when figuring the cost of McGovern's proposed new programs. One modest estimate of their present cost, widely used, is $56 billion; but surely this total cannot include Senator Kennedy's national health program, which McGovern has approved, for that alone would come to $60 billion according to the Brookings Institution. Yet Tobin's estimate for *all* of the McGovern programs, allowing for growth to 1975, is only $41 billion.

Tobin wonders what my alternative to his income redistribution plan would be. I answered that in my McGovern article. The prime requirement in aiding the underprivileged is the opportunity to work in useful, productive, federally supported government jobs, in which they can contribute, learn, advance, and develop a sense of worth. I have in mind the submerged, lower one-fifth of the population, which today performs the most unpleasant jobs in the economy at the lowest wages, or joins the ranks of the unemployed and stagnates in crime or on welfare. Tobin would allow them a paltry handout of $4000 for a family of four. I would give them the opportunities they never had, but which society owes them. And I think that society would get a substantial return—morally, in an enhanced supply of needed public services, which McGovern would provide, in smaller amounts, through private enterprise (see below); and in economic stability. For those who remain out of the labor force because of family obligations, health, age or other reasons, a liberalized version of Senator Ribicoff's welfare bill together with social security would get more money to the poor, and at much less cost, than Tobin's plan.

Three final corrections:

1. Tobin misunderstands me or McGovern, or both of us, on social security. I said that it was not clear "whether McGovern would substitute the negative income tax (The Tobin Plan) for the entire social security system, for part of it, or for none of it." It is still not clear, remembering that the "system" includes unemployment insurance, various public assistance programs, medicare and medicaid as well as the best known old-age pensions. Apparently, however, the latter would gradually wither away; for both McGovern and Tobin seem to imply that despite continued inflation, only small increases in old-age pensions, if any, would be allowed. In his full-employment budget, Tobin even assumes that increases in old-age benefits now in the process of enactment would somehow be rolled back. While this is obviously impossible, the assumption does have the effect of helping, with the aid of statistical magic, to balance the McGovern budget.

2. Tobin says that his plan provides a means test. But a means test requires that subsidies only go to those who lack the means for their own support. In the Tobin plan, a millionaire whose major business shows a loss for the year, leaving him with zero income, would get the full $4000 subsidy, to have and to hold so long as he had a wife and two children. If he were single he'd get only $1000.

3. I did not "imagine," as Tobin says, that McGovern has been induced by his advisers to "shove the federal government to the back of the stage." His program definitely calls for that. Getting the federal government out of the welfare and social security business, except for the tax forms of the Tobin plan, is only part of the picture. McGovern stated that he would resort to private enterprise, not the public sector, for such public services as "public transit facilities, neighborhood health centers, day-care centers and environmental programs." His chief economic adviser, MIT Professor Edwin Kuh, has asserted that McGovern stands for decentralization, meaning a lower profile for the federal government, and he reminds us pointedly that the negative income tax, incorporated in the "Tobin" plan, was originally the idea of archconservative Milton Friedman.

I think that George McGovern is a courageous liberal, and parts of his platform, as on war, the defense budget and tax reform, reflect that. Other parts do not.

Melville J. Ulmer

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Black Homeowning

Sirs:
I read Robert Dietsch's article ("Why So Few Black Homeowners," July 8, 1972) and was particularly interested in his analysis of the use of "gimmicks" by banks and lending associations to deny blacks loans for home ownership. He also touched upon unscrupulous operators who subvert the law for their own profit.

I am a black homeowner in the New York area. When my sister and I purchased the house the only bank that would grant a mortgage was the Carver Federal Savings Bank, an institution set up by blacks mainly to assist blacks in home ownership. This was 30 years ago. I am now retired, and have moved to a much more convenient arrangement, a cooperative apartment and have tried to sell my property. Dealing with tenants, getting repairs at prohibitive prices, and ever-rising city taxes has proven to be too much. In trying to sell, I have found the following difficulties:

1. Unscrupulous realtors approach me who put up a "straw man" as a buyer, ostensibly to gain the property and use it for their own purposes, whether it is to borrow from the city's emergency repair fund or to have a quick foreclosure and obtain the FHA monies guaranteed at 90 percent, I can't say.
2. The neighborhood, known as Hunt's Point in the Bronx has been widely publicized as drug ridden. This forces the value of the property down and can be used as an excuse by banks to deny FHA funds.
3. I have had several potential, genuine buyers who were turned down by the bank because the "neighborhood is semi-commercial." This seemed like a very flimsy excuse and the logic behind it escaped me. Since when can blacks select their neighborhood so carefully? It would appear to me that this would be a better risk as values should appreciate.
4. I was told that I could appeal the ruling but given no direction or information as to what steps to take. There seemed to be no central FHA bureau here in New York City. I had to drive out to Nassau County to find an FHA office and they appeared startled to see me. There were no blacks in the office.
5. If the maze of selling is so complicated, how much more so is that of buying. As you say, if the regulatory agencies were dedicated to the promotion of black ownership the steps you outlined would certainly help. Like myself, there must be many persons interested in selling property, but the red tape, uncooperative banks, grasping entrepreneurs discourage them. Obviously, it is difficult to sell a house in a black neighborhood to other than a black person.

Elise White
New York City

Education & Politics

Sirs:
The point of Wayne O'Neil's review ("Where Do Schools Come From?" June 24) of several recent books on education, including my own *Making New Schools*, is that there can't be anything of deep significance in educational reconstruction until there is a new political base. Schools do not remake society; a society, which can be something smaller than the modern nation-state, remakes schools. I think O'Neil is quite right in his contention and this is something about which I feel strongly. That is why I emphasize that new societies, or new bodies politic, are essential for conducting educational experiments, for making new schools and new colleges and universities, too. That is why I consider territories, or neighborhoods, as well as the educational institutions themselves, the workplaces of students and teachers, as the loci of these new bodies politic. That is why I consider combining professionalism and unionism through having a board of education contract with a teachers' union to run a school, a proposal which was advanced last year in the District of Columbia by the Washington Teachers' Union. And that is why I argue that teachers in schools and professors in universities can do more than await developments in Mao's China, Appalachia, and Greene County, Alabama (the examples are those of O'Neil, who teaches at MIT), but can initiate projects in their own lives and own places of work. Since O'Neil and I are concerned about the need for a new political base, I am surprised that he did not notice that this is one of the chief subjects of the book.

Joseph Turner
Washington, D. C.

Reform in the Schools

Sirs:
Recent *New Republic* articles on educational policy seriously misrepresent the educational "revolution" which the recent spate of school finance decisions will purportedly accomplish.

S. Francis Overlan ("An Equal Chance to Learn," May 13) declares that *Serrano* and its progeny "assume" or "imply" equalization of spending. That statement conjuring up images of mediocre sameness, would be frightening if true. Fortunately it is dead wrong: those decisions demand only that education finance be based on some criterion other than the wealth of school districts, that the presently irrational scheme of awarding education dollars on the basis of such fortuitous circumstances as the presence of family wealth or industrial property be abandoned.

Jerome Zukosky ("Taxes and Schools," June 17) argues that the finance cases "would provide the lever for dismantling a system of shared power in all states," taking authority to run schools from school districts and giving it to the states. That vision is equally disturbing, and equally incorrect. Those who promoted *Serrano* envisioned greater, not lesser community control as the ideal resolution of the school finance problem. In *Private Wealth and Public Education*, the intellectual basis of the cases, Messrs. Coons, Clune and Sugarman argued for what they called "district power equalizing." That system, if adopted, would allow each district (or each family) to determine its own level of educational spending, and—unlike the prevailing finance system—would reward equal tax effort with equal dollars. Such a system does not imply that more money be allocated to education; it does not imply that states assume the management of schools; it implies more choice, not less.

Serrano does not require equalizing, or any other particular remedy. It requires only that tax-poor school districts be treated fairly and rationally by the state. While such a standard will not, as Overlan reminds us, resolve all of education's ills (what will?), it is a useful and modest reformist effort.

David L. Kirp
Berkeley, California

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

like *Enemies*, this play seems to me finished, worn-out. Though it was never a really first-class work, it served an honorable career, advancing naturalism and telling some historical home truths. Now it seems utterly exhausted.

Perhaps a superb production might make it interesting again, at least partially, but this show is rotten. This time the Royal Shakespeare Company has not given Jones its first team, with such actors as John Wood and Alan Howard, but a bunch of third-raters who have brought out the florid in Jones himself. Gorky's flophouse doesn't contain a collection of derelicts in different states of tension with one another but a collection of actors in rags and Russiany acting clichés, each one itching for the moment when he gets to do his solo bit.

Then there was *The School for Scandal*, done by the National Theater, a company that lately contains little *but* third-raters. Paul Curran, the Peter Teazle, is a competent workaday actor; the others, particularly the young women, are nowhere near that modest level.

Jonathan Miller directed. He started with one of his typically eccentric ideas, less startling this time than usual, but it faded about halfway through the first scene. The tone of the production is olive-green and gray, instead of rococo brilliance, and we first see Lady Sneerwell on her potty, her head bald before she is wigged. We anticipate a Hogarthian view of the play, full of decaying teeth and syphilis. But Sheridan seems to have defeated Miller's waywardness; the lines and the plot are proof against this heavy-handed approach to the cruelties that Sheridan treated quite otherwise. After about ten minutes, this settles into a very conventional, very dull performance. The play is one more classic that is simply boring if not exquisitely acted.

Lastly, I saw half of *London Assurance*, which Dion Boucicault wrote in 1841 at the age of 20, revived by the Royal Shakespeare Company and now on for a run at another theater. Boucicault was a minor genius, author of (among many other works) Jefferson's version of *Rip Van Winkle*, and I looked forward to seeing this play I had read long ago. The plot is nicely complicated with hints of *She Stoops to Conquer* past and *The Importance of Being Earnest* to come, and some of the dialogue is nicely turned. But Ronald Eyre has directed for the cheapest kind of laughs one can get in a revival of Victorian plays, kidding the script in a vulgar summer-hotel-show manner. An attempt really to *revive* this play might have been very pleasant. This production is an insult to poor old Boucicault and poor old us.

Not that you'd know it from the audience, though. They loved it, as they loved *The School for Scandal*. As I wound through the lobby in the intermission, just trying to get out, all I heard were variations of "The funniest thing I've seen in absolute *years*." It made me long, I admit, for the usually loathsome sophisticated gloss of the Broadway audience. These people, with their tea-room-manageress accents, are big-town yokels.

Before Americans start getting misty-eyed about the London theater, they should remember that this is the city that has given over a year's run to *How the Other Half Loves* and *No Sex, Please, We're British*, over six years to *There's a Girl in My Soup*, and over nineteen (repeat: nineteen) years to *The Mousetrap*—all of which are still going strong. If I have rarely seen a Broadway production as good as the best London productions, I have rarely seen a Broadway hit as unredeemably inane as some of the London hits.

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War are hard at work—but broke. We need your help. Send any contribution you can to:

VVAW
25 West 26th St.
New York, N.Y. 10010

Personals

FREE Catalog: Elegant Gifts for that Special Someone. McRit, Dept. ANR Box 574, Salem, Ohio 44460.

OUTSTANDING imprinted personal stationery. Social-professional. Idea-Packed sampler-catalog—25¢. Jacques Stationery, Box 395-N, Wallingford, Vermont 05773.

SPECIAL DISCOUNT OFFER! 1,000 Personalized Gold Striped Address Labels only 59¢. Summer Bargains, Box 3434, Seminole, Florida 33542.

OLD TERMPAPERS PURCHASED. Minimum $5.00 paid if used. Camparative Academics, Box #4171, Silver Spring, Maryland 20904.

HELP AN UNDERPRIVILEGED AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD to remain in school, and have a new friend who needs you. $15 monthly. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D. C. 20016, (301) 320-3536.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS without exception. The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, without exception. AAAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles, California 90036.

HUMANISM: A vital philosophy for free thinkers who really care about people. Free information. American Humanist Association, Dept. NR, Box 7692, San Francisco, CA 94120.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½' x 2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, California 90307.

ALPHAPHONE® headset—brainwave trainer. Free literature. Aquarius Electronics, Box 627-Q, Mendocino, California 95460.

SAVING ALASKA, SERVING ALL. Please help, tax deductible, free newsletter. Alaska Environmental Institute, 913 W. 6th Avenue, Anchorage, Alaska 99501.

PENFRIENDS. For free information write: Papyrus, Box 458NE, Winston-Salem, N.C. 27102.

TIME TO RENEW WATCHBAND CALENDAR? 12 months, $1.50 (specify starting month.) IDEA HOUSE, Rye, New York 10580.

HELP OVERCOME DISCRIMINATION and severe underprivilege. Sponsor a Spanish-American school child in New Mexico. Correspondence. Visitation. $180. per year. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Rd., Washington, D. C. 20016

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will forms and attorney's information book. $1.50. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1830 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

ELECTROENCEPHALOPHONE: brainwave monitor. Professional biofeedback instruments. J&J, 8102-R, Bainbridge, Wash. 98110.

"MEMBER, ENDANGERED SPECIES" bumperstrip, 2/$1.00; 6/$2.50. Wry Idea Co., Box 178-N, Rye, N.Y. 10580.

ALPHA THETA BRAINWAVE FEEDBACK INSTRUMENTS. Relaxed awareness, meditation, body control. Inner Space Electronics, Box 308NR, Berkeley, California 94701

Campaign '72

MAKE AMERICA HAPPEN AGAIN . . . McGOVERN button serially numbered: $3, 2/$5. Other items 3/$1. Special photo button $1. Mobile $2. Proceeds to campaign. McGovern Committee, PO Box 472, Vermillion, SD 57069

Peace Personals

PATCHES & APPLIQUE (over 200), POSTERS (over 275, many anti-war), BUTTONS (135), BUMPERSTICKERS (50) and other peace items. Wholesale & retail. Catalogue with Pictures 25¢ (refund 1st order). BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS, Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 8551 Page Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Literature

WAR RESISTERS CANADA by K. F. Emerick was called "A compassionate study . . . eloquent, finely organized" by *Publishers' Weekly*. Fascinating 320 pages. Knox Free Press, Knox, Pa., 16232. $4.95

BEST BOOKFINDERS IN NEW YORK: URSAY BOOKS, 86-32 N. Eliot Ave., Rego Park, New York City 11374.

FREE BOOK, Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 72, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester, New York 14619.

COMMUNITY MARKET CATALOG: Gift ideas in purchase order catalog offering products of co-ops and intentional communities in US ($1), 2546 S.A.B., Ann Arbor, Mi 48104.

BOOKS FROM CHINA-FREE CATALOG of books & magazines in English. More than 1,000 titles. Subscriptions: *Peking Review*, air mailed direct from Peking, $4; *China Pictorial, China Reconstructs, Chinese Literature*, $3 each. CHINA BOOKS, Dept. NRC, 2929 24th St., S.F., Calif. 94110; CHINA BOOKS, 95 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10003 or CHINA BOOKS, 900 W. Armitage, Chicago, Ill. 60614.

Authors

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphic-copy, Box 285R, Floral Park, New York 11011.

WE WRITE ANYTHING. 300 professional writers. Reasonable rates. Research Reports, Suite #5, 6400 Georgia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. (202) 722-0909.

WRITERS—"UNSALABLE" BOOKMANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

WE PRINT your poetry, story or non-fiction in book form at low cost. Excellent workmanship. Free information, samples. Pine Hill Press, 702 Sixth, Freeman, S.D. 57029.

Schools

KAYADEROSSEROS MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY: New Educational community replaced traditional high school prison. Boarding. Co-Ed, flexible tuition. FREE environment in Adirondack Mountains for people 16 and older. Sky Ranch, Plank Road, Porter Corners, N.Y. 12859.

Foreign Studies

MEET RUSSIANS FACE-TO-FACE on 3-week non-political non-profit exchange visits to the USSR. Open to qualified Americans, all ages, occupations. Departures June through December. Write-Wire-Phone Citizen Exchange Corps, Dept. NR, 10 West 46th Street, New York, New York 10036 (212) 581-8113.

Employment Wanted

HISTORY TEACHER, female, 32, disenchanted with graduate school and academic rat race seeks meaningful, challenging work/alternative life style. Interested in people, politics, and social change. New Republic Box 6260.

VETERAN McGOVERN WORKER needs job now (*anywhere*), to enable fall campaigning. Gary Sanders, 23500 Scotia, Oak Park, Michigan.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY in Northwestern College, Ph.D., 35, tired of academe, seeks challenging executive position relative to background. Resume on request. New Republic Box 6250.

Employment Opportunities

PHYSICIANS NEEDED—Full time career or Locum Tenens for progressive, quality multi-specialty group, Appalachia, coal mining area; consumer board, college town, excellent facilities, services; good salary. Fringes, time off. Reply with curriculum vitae, New Republic Box 6255.

LUCRATIVE WORLDWIDE HOTEL JOBS. Details $1.00. Alexander, Box 357NR, South Pasadena, California 91030.

EUROPEAN-FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT—Detailed report on currently available jobs—Europe, Australia, Africa, $3.00. Eurojob Report, Box 52643-P, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 889-N, Belmont, California 94002.

WORK IN DEVELOPING MEXICO. Rapid advancement, negligible taxes, inexpensive entertainment, pleasant living, peace. List of 200 United States, international, Mexican companies. Immigration procedure, $4.00. Infomex, NR1271, 1923-A Ojeman Ave., Houston, Texas 77055.

Spare Time

HOW TO MAKE MONEY Writing Short Paragraphs! I tell you what to write, where and how to sell, and supply lists of editors buying from beginners. Small checks can add up to worthwhile extra income. Write to sell right away. Send for free facts. BARRETT, Dept. C-456-K, 6216 N. Clark, Chicago 60660.

Property—Sale/Rent

FUNKY 1824 FARMHOUSE, 10 rooms, 3 acres meadow. Overlooks small town view of Mt. Mansfield, 30 mins. from Burlington $28,000. Eph Robbins, Westford, Vermont (802) 879-0653.

MOVING TO CLEVELAND? Suburban living, superior schools, near universities, integrated neighborhoods. Contact Shaker Communities, 3494 Lee Road, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120, (216) 751-2155

GOVERNMENT LANDS . . . Low as $3.50 Acre! Vacationing, Homesteading, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands available throughout U. S., send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 19107-SM, Washington, D. C. 20036.

BRITISH WRITER wants exchange country house near London for accommodation in Washington, D. C. Minimum nine months. Call (301) 530-5797.

Vacations/Travel

AFRICAN SAFARI to Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya. Travel to famous game reserves by Volkswagen busses. Small group. 26 days beginning Amsterdam August 21. $1099.00 all-inclusive. CALIFORNIA STUDENT TOURS, 1111 Russ Building, San Francisco, California 94104.

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET? Charming, centrally located. Hotel Beresford, 635 Sutter Street.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21 J Bell, Bayside, New York 11361.

BORDER LAKES OUTFITTERS. Canoe trips into Superior Quetico wilderness. Individual, family, group trips planned. Box 158 Winton, Minnesota 55796. 218—365-3783.

SHENANDOAH VALLEY FARM—Beautiful, secluded, quiet, comfortable. Dixons, McGaheysville, Virginia 22840.

CHARMING SMALL CHATEAU Loire Vallee, France. Great comfort offering hospitality to paying guests. Write: Suire de Kuttel, Le Vieux Pressoir, 41, Les Montils, France.

WINDJAMMER VACATION—Sail from Rockland, Maine, to picturesque islands and harbors in Penobscot Bay. $140 weekly. Brochure. Schooner. RICHARD ROBBINS, West Bath, Maine. Phone (207) 443-3805.

Contemporary Living

LINGERIE LOUNGEWEAR of good taste and exceptional value. Direct from maker. 25¢ for catalog. Dept. 101, SOLETTE FASHIONS, 5750 Market Street, Philadelphia, Penn. 19139.

SCAN Co-op Contemporary Furniture. Largest retailer of Scandinavian furnishings in the U. S. Fine design and quality at low direct-import prices. 60 page catalog, 12 in color. $1.00. SCAN, Box NR, 11310 Frederick Ave., Beltsville, Maryland 20705.

Arts and Crafts

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

RELAX! in a YUCATAN HAMMOCK. Indoors, outdoors. Handwoven, multicolored cotton mesh provides unique feeling of support. Free brochure. Hammockmaster, 351 Bleeker Street, New York, New York 10014.

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro. Reasonable. Illustrated catalogue, 50¢. George Kirschner, 90-59 56 Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

Music

BURTON HARPSICHORDS—Professional instrument in kit form, Burton Jacks (patented) $195.00 to $650.00. Write Herbert W. Burton, 917 "O" Street, Box 80222 (N), Lincoln, Nebraska 68501.

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE. Quality instruments and kits: Dulcimers ($20 up), Psalteries, Banjos, Thumb Pianos; books, records, HERE, Inc., #N, 410 Cedar Ave., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Maryland.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) ..... 60¢
Per word 6 times in one contract year ..... 55¢
Per word 12 times in one contract year ..... 50¢
Per word 24 times in one contract year ..... 45¢
Per word 48 times in one contract year ..... 40¢

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

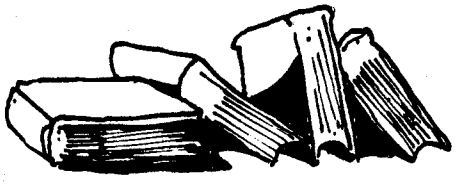
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC BOOK STALL is back in business, with substantial savings on a large list of important books you will want to read *now* and retain in your library. The Book Stall has a choice selection, and the more books you buy, the more you save. Minimum buy is 3 books at 30% off. After that the savings grow to 40% for 4 books, and to 50% with five or more books. In all cases, postage and handling are on us. So browse through the stall at your leisure, jot down your order, and send in the coupon today with your check or money order and the shipment will be promptly on the way. (No charge orders accepted). Savings of up to 50%

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

JUL 19 1972

Book Bargains Galore



CHECK THESE SAVINGS

HERE IS YOUR PRICE AT REDUCTIONS OF

NATIONAL POLITICS

Book No.		Publisher's Price	30%	40%	50%
0073	*The Nixon Watch.* John Osborne.	5.95	4.16	3.57	2.97
0084	*Second Year of the Nixon Watch.* Osborne.	5.95	4.16	3.57	2.97
0014	*The Year of the People.* Eugene McCarthy.	6.95	4.87	4.17	3.47
0007	*A Political Life.* Nat Hentoff.	6.95	4.87	4.17	3.47
0010	*The Selling of the President.* Joe McGinnis.	5.95	4.16	3.57	2.97
0081	*The Pentagon Propaganda Machine.* Sen. J. W. Fulbright.	4.95	3.46	2.97	2.47
0013	*The Kennedy Legacy.* Theodore Sorenson	6.95	4.87	4.17	3.47
0009	*Advise and Obstruct.* Hugh G. Gallagher.	6.95	4.87	4.17	3.47

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

0077	*The Intelligence Establishment.* Harry Howe Ransom.	10.00	7.00	6.00	5.00
0095	*Cold War and Counterrevolution.* Richard J. Walton.	7.95	5.56	4.77	3.96
0093	*Peace With China?* Earl C. Ravenal.	7.50	5.25	4.50	3.75
0088	*Forty Days with the Enemy.* Richard Dudman.	5.95	4.16	3.57	2.97
0090	*Memoirs of Marshall Zukov.*	15.00	10.50	9.00	7.50
0076	*Unbind Your Sons.* Alex Campbell.	7.95	5.56	4.77	3.96

ADDITIONAL TITLES

0094	*A Personal Record,* Harold Wilson.	15.00	10.50	9.00	7.50
0078	*The Politics of Ecology.* James Ridgeway.	5.95	4.16	3.57	2.97
0082	*Truth and Power.* Hans J. Morgenthau.	12.50	8.75	7.50	6.25
0083	*Crime in America.* Ramsey Clark.	6.95	4.87	4.17	3.47
0085	*The New Exiles.* Roger N. Williams.	7.95	5.56	4.77	3.96
0091	*Selling Death.* Thomas Whiteside.	5.95	4.16	3.57	2.97
0092	*Thirty Years of Treason.* Eric Bentley.	20.00	14.00	12.00	10.00

Please order books by the number at left.

Mail to:
The New Republic, 381 W. Center St., Marion, Ohio 43302

I have selected the _____% offer. Enclosed is my check for $_____ for the books listed by number below. Please mail the books at your expense to:

_____ _____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____ _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

BB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED